FBIS DAILY REPORT

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KOSOVO EVENTS REVEAL GREAT SERBIAN CHAUVINISM

AU091001 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 9 Jun 81

["Original Piedmont, Yugoslav 'Piedmont' and the Big-Albanian Piedmont"--ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, 9 Jun (ATA)--Under the title: "Original Piedmont, Yugoslav 'Piedmont' and the 'Big-Albanian Piedmont". The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT publishes today an article, which stresses that "Big-Albanian Piedmont" is a historical falsity deliberately invented so as to darken the present reality and to turn the truth upside down. ...this slogan aims at blemishing our country, at hiding the real causes and responsibilities about the new tragedy in Kosovo at exerting diversion and at attributing to our socialist state aims and roles it has never had.

In particular after the events in Kosovo, the big Serb trend is reappearing now with a repressive and centralizing impetus as never before. It is clear that what is happening in Kosovo has to do not only with this region, but with all Yugoslavia.

Socialist Albania has never put forth territorial claims towards Yugoslavia. What we require is that Kosovo should be treated as equal within the federation, that the Albanian population should not be considered as an "inferior race".

Follows the full text of the article:

In the context of all the unrestrained anti-Albanian campaign which was launched after the event in Kosovo, the Yugoslav press has frequently written about a so-called "Big-Albanian Piedmont". In all this deafening chorus the newspaper POLITIKA of Belgrade has, as always, won a primate, which it does not like to lose.

In the mind of various scribblers who have taken orders to launch arrows in plenty against Albania, its foreign policy in particular, this slogan aims at blemishing our country, at hiding the real causes and responsibilities about the new tragedy in Kosovo, at exerting diversion and attributing to our socialist state aims and role it has never had.

The historical evocations are not always sufficient to explain and understand what is occuring before our eyes. The daily events cannot be introduced by force in the ready-made moulds of history. Nevertheless, as some parallels, which refer to the past have become available, we, so to say, accept the challenge and we also deem it necessary to have our say. It is not the place here to go at length about some known topics and problems of general or partial history and, certainly, it is not the question to make some new contribution to this field. But when various Yugoslav personalities, to the highest levels, followed suit by an army of professional slanderers and falsifiers, try to disfigure the real problems which emerge in the relations between Albania and Yugoslavia at this stage, by loading and complicating them with all sorts of abusive mystifications and disgraces, it is quite proper to reopen the accounts, to dot the i's and cross the t's, so that some concepts become clearer.

Piedmont of Italy has assumed a pejorative sense in its highest scale in the mouth and writings of the experienced big-Serb chauvinists and their neophyte disciples. It is used as a synonym of a certain trend in the field of foreign policy of a state, as a trend which is allegedly inspired by a false nationalism and patriotism, by the so-called "national romanticism", which has lived its century, as a trend which requires provocation and adventure in the relations with other states. All this battery of appeals is spearheaded against present-day Socialist Albania, which is accused that it entertains the "nostalgia of the 19th century".

Leaving aside the essence of the problem for a moment, first the question arises: Has really Piedmont in the Italian history of the past century that sense and that character the heralds of big-Serb chauvinism give to understand?

Have they the right to use it rightly and wrongly, to humiliate it and make it ridiculous? Can they introduce so easily Piedmont, which is linked with one of the most brilliant pages of the history of the Italian people, in the jargon of slanders and inventions they launch against Albania?

We, Albanians of various generations, have had a bitter experience from the official policy of Italy and many misfortunes and sufferings have fallen on the shoulders of our people from this policy. But we have been taught to appraise and respect the values of other peoples, small or big. The more so, we, revolutionary Marxists must do this. And, in reality, every leafing of the history of Italy, which has to do with its unification into a united state in the 19th century, cannot fail arousing the sentiments of respect and profound admiration. And in this process, Piedmont's role has been of first-rate importance.

And in that great progressive liberation movement, which has been named Italian Risorgimento, Piedmmont, in the north-western corner of Italy, though it was a kingdom, though it was dominated by feudal aristocracy and high bourgeoisie, has been a base and a nucleus. For more than half a century, from the 20's up to the 70's of the 19th century, the great struggle continued for the liberation and unification of the Italian territories which were partitioned and distributed among the Habsburgs, Bourbons, the pope and the numerous local rulers. Practically, Italy of that period was a remnant of fedual paritioning. Objectively Piedmont had served during all this period of time as a stronghold for every political, diplomatic or military action, which had as its aim the unification of Italy. It has been the pillar round which were united into a single one the different regions in the north and south. From a general viewpoint, the unification of Italy has been one of the greatest and more progressive revolutionary processes in Europe in the 19th century after the French Revolution. Piedmont has been the leading staff with its strong and weak points.

Likewise this process has had its protagonists, its heroes. They are those that the big-Serb propaganda calls today "idols of the past", those that "poison the spirits of the youth" and that is why they must be overthrown from the pedestals of history. Let us stress superficially that this is nationalism in its unique sense, because it turns out that Stefan Dusan, Obrenovic, Karadjordjevic, Garasain, Pasic, etc. have not been removed from the Serb pantheon.

It is significant that in the [word indistinct] of the outstanding figures of Italian Risorgimento the place of honour is held neither by the kings of kingdom, nor by Karl-Albert, nor by Victor Emmanuel II but by a revolutionary republican and ideologist like Macin, a military leader who emerged from the fold of the people like Garibaldi, a statesman and diplomat like Cavour. These names represent in themselves various contradictory aspects, the methods now and then divergent of the war for the unification of Italy. But the three of them constitute a unity; that of the liberation from the foreign yoke and the founding of the United States of the Italian Nation.

The importance and echo of the Italian liberation movement of the 19th century greatly surpassed the boundaries of Apennines Peninsula. Such a powerful movement, with a profoundly liberation character, where the broad masses of the people put such a strong seal, could not and did not remain in fact an isolated Italian phenomenon. The Italian Risorgimento has had a resonance and a considerable influence on an international scale. The very fact that Garibaldi took part in the liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America (which brought to him the fame of the "hero of the two worlds") seems as if it underlines and materializes the idea on Risorgimento as a component part of the universal movement on the progress and the liberation of the peoples throughout the world.

We have no reason to hide, on the contrary we must say bluntly that the programs of the national movements in our peninsula have found in them inspirations and models for the liberation struggle from the yoke of Turkey not only geographical nearness but also the similarity of problems made it quite natural, at that time, as is known, there was not an Albania in itself.

It was part of the Turkish Empire. But in the Balkans there were independent states such as Greece or autonomous states such as Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, to which Bulgaria would be added in 1878. All of them had as the main target in their programs of foreign policy the unification of the co-nationals in the respective states. Thus, there was an Italian Piedmont, but there were also the Balkan "Piedmonts". Here there was nothing to be blamed, on the contrary the demands for the unification of conationals were reasonable and legitimate within the boundaries of the movements for complete national liberation.

In fact all the states of the Balkans at this period have, someone more and someone less, [as received] undertaken the role of Piedmont both towards the Turkish Empire and Austro-Hungary, but gradually the expansionist excess of leading circles assume superiority. The ideal of Balkan solidarity in the common struggle for the liberation of all nations of the Balkans withered away in face of the pressure of chauvinist tendencies to the detriment of one another, which are turned and become a grave wound in the history of all the peninsula with consequences which are felt to our century.

It is an undoubted historical fact that in this respect Serb expansionism in particular has been distinguished. From this viewpoint Serbia of the 19th century cannot be identified with Italian Piedmont. The "Serb Piedmont" may be used not only in a figurative meaning, but also in the conventional one. It surpasses the boundaries of the national program and assumes an ever more expansionist function. The Italian Piedmont fought for the unity of a homogenous nation against Hapsburgs, the Papal State as well as against the other factors which kept Italy divided, while the "Serb Piedmont" undertook bit by bit the role of the embryo of a new domination, of a big unitarian state which would include in its fold not only the Serbs, but also other ethnic groups under the protection of Serbia. Since the 40's of the previous century the Serb Premier Garsanin had worked out a memorandum on the foreign policy-"nachertanien" which was chrystalized long ago as an ambitious program of occupations for the creation of a Yugoslav Kingdom, which would include, apart from Serbia, also the regions of the other Slavs of the south such as Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia down to Bulgaria, even territories with non-Slavic population such as Kosovo ("old Serbia" in the big Serb vocabulary) and the northern part of Albania.

The expansionist essence of this program comes out to the fore clearly if one bears in mind the fact that the Slavs of the south do not constitute a unity. Ever since they have appeared in the Balkan Peninsula, for the first time about the 6th century of our era, they have been exposed to various influences from outside. They have been divided between the western civilisation and the oriental one and have evolved gradually in separate peoples and nations. This also explains why later on, at the period of the awakening of the nations in Europe and in the Balkans, there was not and could not be a common national movement having as its target the creation of the unified all-Slav state. Neither in the dawn of the state life in itself, nor later on, has ever Serbia been the bearer and representative of such a program. During the whole second half of the 19th century and in the first two decades of the 20th century, the Serb politicians, from the princes and kings and up to Pasic, have as their platform the realization of Serb hegemony into a big, almost imperial state according to the sample of Austro-Hungary. In two different stages, at the Berlin Congress in 1878 and, in particular, at the time of Balkan Wars in 1912-1913, they had great territorial gains, including, in particular territories inhabited by almost half of the Albanian population, within the borders of Serbia.

This, certainly, does not mean that there has not existed in the period of the awakening of the Balkans also a movement of the Slavs of the south both for their liberation from foreign yoke and for their unification into a constituent state formation. In regard to this, two trends have confronted one another: On the one hand big-Serb unitarism and, on the other, Yugoslav [word indistinct].

At the end of the First World War, it appeared as if a compromising solution was found when due to the disintegration of Austro-Hungary. At the end of 1919, Croatia, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Slovenia were united with Serbia in the so-called "Serb-Croatian-Slovenian State", which 10 years later, in 1929, would take the name of Yugoslavia.

But, just like every formula applied on the basis of capitalist order, this was nothing else but a facade, behind which the politicians of Belgrade, headed by Pasic, realized, some times through parlamentarian manoeuvres, sometimes through direct terror, the old idea of Serb hegemony in the so-called "new" tripled state. Without entering into detail, two meaningful facts characterize in the best way the extreme forms of antagonism between the two trends in the political life of Yugoslavia of the period between two wars: the killing of Croatian leader, Radic in parliament in 1928. That was followed by the killing of King Alexander in 1934 in Marseille. From this it turns out that the essence of the state power in Yugoslavia up to the unleashing of the Second World War has been a savage big-Serb dictatorship, which combined social yoke over the working people with national oppression over "halogenous" nations. From this it also turns out in what disproportions are: On the one hand, the original Piedmont which had as its mission the unification of Italy on homogenous national basis and on the other, "Piedmont" in the new Yugoslav version which with its plan of creating a multinational state, must affirm the idea of big Serbia.

It cannot be denied that post-war Yugoslavia started its road with new hopes for the nations and nationalities included in its federal boundaries. It was spoken about the fraternity and unification of the peoples and nations and Yugoslav federation was advertised as the ideal form of the solution of national question. But soon it was seen that socialist principles would not be put on the basis of the handling of this question. The big-Serb idea marked its first victory when the people of Kosovo was deprived of the right of self-determination up to seccession, in opposition with what was promised by Tito himself. Prior and after the war, the appetite of the big-Serb chauvinism was increased when it strove to include Albania itself as its seventh republic. It won a second life with Rankovicism which became the dominant policy in federation. Tito saw in it the danger for the dismemberment of the federation and hurried to establish order through a difficult equilibrium between various antagonist trends and clans. Less than a year passed from his death, and it became evident how unstable and breakable are the structures he left behind. The Big-Serb trend was revitalized: In particular after the events in Kosovo, it is reappearing now with a repressive and centralizing impetus as never before. It is clear that what is happening in Kosovo has to do not only with this region, but with all Yugoslavia. The old struggle between big-Serb centralism and federalism finds a new expression there. The further existence of Yugoslavia as a federation depends in the final account from the conclusion of this struggle.

What remains to say after this about "Big-Albanian Piedmont", which the propagators of Belgrade advertise as a ghost that allegedly endangers Yugoslav federation? It is a historical falsity deliberately invented so as to darken the present-day reality and turn the truth upside down, twice it is absurd and groundless:

First, there is no doubt that the Albanian National Movement had had also its territorial program, because there is no national movement without a territorial program. It had become known officially and publicly since the last quarter of the 19th century, when the question became a problem of diplomacy, thus, long before the founding of the independent Albanian state in 1912. It is an incontestable fact that it has always been in defensive. All the efforts have been concentrated on the preservation of the integrity of Albanian territories, which were a target of the ambitions of the neighboring states.

Second, in 1913 upon the decision of the big powers, independent Albania was gravely truncated. At that time and later on the Albanian opinion has denounced it as a great injustice which has been made to the Albanian people. The more so, this would have been denounced by the Socialist Albanian State in our time. But we have said and reiterated constantly, we have stressed also in the analysis ZERI I POPULLIT made of the latest events in Kosovo, that Socialist Albania has never put forth territorial claims towards Yugoslavia. What we require is that Kosovo should be treated as equal within the federation. That the Albanian population should not be considered as an "inferior race", which "even what it has, it has too much". Nobody can deny us of this right and, Socialist Albania will exert it always and in every circumstance.

What is then the meaning of "Big-Albanian Piedmont"? What do they want to achieve with this slogan? They fail to humiliate us. They only distort the truth.

STUDENT EYEWITNESS REPORTS PRISTINA DEMONSTRATIONS

AU091520 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 0600 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Article by ZERI I POPULLIT: "An Unbiased Witness Tells About the Demonstrations in Pristina--Diary of an Italian Student Published in L'ESPRESSO"--date of article not given]

[Text] An Italian student was to complete a 6-month study on Albanian culture in Kosovo at Pristina University at the end of April. However, he was not able to complete his study as student movements were aroused on 11 March. These were supported by the people and lasted until 3 April. This student has now returned to Italy. He is Demetrio Delifera, and has personally lived through the bloody March of Kosovo. Being a single witness of these events, we have asked him to write a diary of those days for [the Rome newspaper] L'ESPRESSO readers, which we now publish below:

Pristina: On the night of 11 March Pristina University students had decided to organize a demonstration based on three demands: the right to study, the question of texts and living conditions. Pristina University, in the capital of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, with a majority of the Albanian ethnic group and 37,000 students is the third largest in Yugoslavia. The right to study for Kosovo students is still much more limited than in the other universities of the country. [Word indistinct] of Pristina University are still of the lowest level. Although lectures are given in Albanian, there are no books in this language. To acquire them from Tirana, when it is possible, a high import tax must be paid. The third point, that there is a low standard of living and unemployment--80 percent of graduates cannot find work, many of whom have emigrated to Germany, Belgium, Sweden, France and Switzerland--is a problem concerning all people in Kosovo. The winter which just passed was long and bitter, but above all it was difficult. It was rare to find daily foods such as oil, sugar, tea, butter and milk, and also heating fuels and laundry soap.

Thus on 12 March at noon the university cafeteria was blocked and the students went into the streets crying "bread, bread." The police did not wait, and despite the interference of some professors, unleashed many tear-gas bombs among the demonstrators. The students answered with stones. The demonstration dispersed under the suppression of the police but leaving the youths angry and confused. Yet despite this, reason was still in command. The students in fact thought about another demonstration--this time not improvised but thought-out and with a political content. They programmed this for 26 March. The beginning of the youth relay race was anticipated on this day with a sports manifestation in which the Communist Youth League would pass the baton each day throughout Yugoslavia.

On 26 March some thousands of students went out waving an Albanian national flag--a red flag with a two-headed black eagle and with the partisan star. The flag is the same as that of Kosovo, a province officially recognized, but the police intervened forcefully, arrested students and stopped the line of demonstrations. The youths shouted: Release comrades from prison. We do not want autonomous provinces. Long live the Republic of Kosovo.

A group of people gathered around the students. A column of people formed which attempted to arrive at the city center where official celebrations were taking place. The police, it seemed, were informed earlier. Unexpectedly, units sent from Belgrade by airplane appeared in Pristina. They threw hundreds of tear gas bombs into the crowd and the explosions continually increased. The Serbian police were wearing bulletproof jackets. At one time it seemed as though there were quarrels among the forces of order; that is, among the local police who are Albanians and those sent by Belgrade. Some of the local police protected the demonstrators from the blows and others attempted to deactivate the tear gas bombs. This quarrel among the police ended with the arrest of some Albanian police. On the night of 26 March there were hundreds of wounded. There were also hundreds arrested.

The inhabitants learned about what had happened from foreign radios through short newscasts of poor quality because journalists could not enter the province. The local press, it seemed, was obliged by circumstances to speak about the matters in Pristina. Thus, an article was published in which students' national aims were criticized, foreign radio casts were denounced, which could have influenced them, and also stating that 23 demonstrators and 12 police were wounded and 21 were arrested. The main theme then was denouncing nationalism.

Any Yugoslav who was not in Pristina could not imagine from official statistics the cold-bloodedness and resolution of the police units brought from Belgrade by plane. But even not all the inhabitants of Pristina indeed knew what happened on the night of 26 March. It was not until 5 days later that confusion and then hatred for the police and those who sent them spread throughout the city. Likewise, the disturbance concerning the many arrested citizens increased, for they were in danger of never being released from prison again, as happened in 1968.

Thus, on 1 April after discussions during the whole morning workers of the (Gardania) construction plant, on the outskirts of the city, decided to organize a march to demand the release of students. At 1330 the builders [words indistinct]. They were walking along the road toward the university cafeteria shouting slogans about solidarity between students and workers and criticizing the interpretation made by local authorities about the demonstrations of the 12th as acts against the homeland and people. The crowd increased as it began its movement. Ordinary people, passersby and others who came out into the street from their homes joined the workers. The police, this time more cautious, attempted to direct the crowd toward the Ramiz Sadiku [word indistinct], and the demonstrators seemed calm. But the slogans began to take on a political nature, little by little. Besides the release of arrested students, they demanded higher wages and again the creation of an autonomous republic of Kosovo. Seeing that the police were not intervening, women with children and even unaccompanied children who wanted to take part in this great game joined the crowd. Finally, the themes of the demonstration were in the hearts of all the people. About 15,000 demonstrators were in the crowd. Unexpectedly, the police again attacked with tear gas. Some were hit and others were crushed by those who were running. Many wounded were taken out of the crowd. Yet the demonstrators still decided to preserve their tranquillity and in the face of their passive stand the police withdrew. After reaching the road, the crowd took it over completely. The number of demonstrators was now 30,000-40,000. Now that they were in command of the center, they transformed the demonstration into a revolutionary celebration. The higher schools suspended their afternoon lessons and the students went into the city carrying their professors on their shoulders, assemblies and songs were improvised and the release of the Albanian intellectual (Adem Demasi), who has been imprisoned for 13 years for views opposed to the regime, was demanded.

When night fell, the women brought bread and fruit to satisfy the demonstrators' hunger. At 1815 the police again attacked. Many were wounded. Then the police threw stones and, slowly withdrawing, began to break everything they came across. The demonstration dispersed but a silent agreement was made to begin again tomorrow.

On the evening of 1 April the Council of the Republic of Serbia, on which Kosovo is administratively dependent, established martial law in Pristina. This was a test of force--there is no other way. About 2300, units of the Yugoslav People's Army were sent to occupy radio and television headquarters, press and other state offices. But the resolution of the demonstrators had become known in the whole city and on the morning of 2 April the streets were again filled with groups having Albanian flags. At 1100 the tanks entered. Four military planes flew low over the roofs and streets to create panic.

The police attempted to stop the various demonstrating groups from joining together, but that morning the whole city was in the streets. No one had gone to work. The demonstrators were inspired. At middday, two tanks were burned. The police answered the bottles and gasoline of the demonstrators with bullets. Eight were killed. Among them, two children fell [word indistinct]. Other tanks and armored cars were called from Macedonia and the airport was occupied by paratroopers. But the demonstration still did not disperse. The participants in it reunited after every attack. A truck from a nearby bread factory came filled with bread to give to those who were now fighters. Women held (?handkerchiefs and lemons) to protect from the gas. This test of force was accepted by the crowd who began to loudly repeat the old Albanian proverb: "There Is No Wedding Without Meat," which means that every celebration requires its sacrifice. Plenty of blood was spilled in the streets. Now even the demonstrators were armed. Whoever had a gun took it into the street to use. Among the opposing side made up of police and soldiers, there were also one or two Serb civilians. One of them, it seemed, had killed a demonstrator. He was followed to his home and the crowd set it on fire.

Night: The television spoke about small groups of provocators but at the same time reported the declaration of martial law and forbade gathering in groups of more than three people for the inhabitants of Pristina, Liplijan, Podujevo, Grahkov and Vucitrn. Now Pristina was surrounded and the dawn of 2 April found the demonstrators totally [word indistinct]. Revolts were also mentioned in the remote villages but I do not know anything more. Three hundred killed are spoken about. Official statistics say 12 victims. But the Austrian newspaper KURIER will write that those who emigrated from Kosovo have said at least 1,000. Those who are able leave the city, now militarily occupied.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--On May 18, 1981, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Tunisian Republic, Nesip Kaci, presented the credentials to the president of the Tunisian Republic, Habib Bourguiba. [Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 20 May 81 AU]

YOUTH DELEGATION'S RETURN--The delegation of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania headed by Lumturi Rexha, first secretary of the union, which visited the FRG, has returned to Albania. The delegation was welcomed at Rinas Airport by Valdete Sala, secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 May 81 AU]

WARSAW CORRESPONDENT VIEWS 'ANTISOCIALIST FORCES'

AU091216 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Jun 81 p 7

[Angel Bonev, Warsaw correspondent report: "Poland--With or Without an Emblem"]

[Text] This morning passing through the Krakowskie Przedmiescie, the capital's liveliest street, I noticed young people standing in line just next door to the entrance of Warsaw University. Since no one is impressed by queues in this city, I would have passed on without paying any attention, if I had not noticed that the "happy customers" were holding small pamphlets and photographs in their hands and looking at them.

I was curious what was being sold here. There were great piles of newly printed books on the stalls, some of them had not yet been opened. I read some of the titles, such as "Letter to the Leaders of the Soviet Union" by Aleksandr Solzheniytsin, and "Half a Century of Soviet Revolution" by Wiktor Sukiennicki, (this title appearing on the cover of the book over the picture of a disintegrating five-pointed star). There was also a book entitled "Myths of Socialism" by Professor Leczek Nowak. Next to this book there was a picture of Jozef Pilsudski (the strategist of the "great Polish-Lithuanian-Russian federation"), who in 1920 instigated the Polish bourgeois-land-owners class to intervening against Soviet Russia. This is by no means illegal literature. Some of the books carry the incription: Students Publishing Agency of the "West-Pommeranian University" while others carry the inscription: Independent Students' Trade Union. I have no intention of analyzing these squibs characterized by a most obvious anti-Soviet and antisocialist spirit. I will just recall that this is by no means an isolated phenomenon, and even less is it an accidental event in Poland. Last month a great exhibition of "independent" publishing houses was organized at the Warsaw Polytechnical University, containing literature illegally reprinted in Poland, or imported from the West.

I remember the demands of the students on strike at the beginning of this year: that ideological disciplines should be the subject of free choice and optional. Only a few months have passed since the strike and certain forces in Poland hastened to fill the vacuum left by the study of ideological subjects in the students' education with anti-Marxist literature.

Who are these forces?

At a students' demonstration 2 weeks ago, which was held under the slogan: "Freedom for Political Prisoners." I saw many young people with the emblem AE printed on their shirts and under this emblem the full meaning of these initials was printed in capital letters: "Antisocialist Elements." I recently met party members of the big Warsaw enterprise, "Warinski," and I was asked several times--"tell us where the antisocialist forces are about which your newspapers write so much. If they really exist, they are such a small percentage of our society, that they do not represent any danger for real socialism."

I will not discuss the exact percentage, although I have recently heard other evaluations here to the effect that "KOR and the Confederation of Independent Poland are nothing but the tip of the iceberg; no one knows what is hidden below." I would just like to add to these words: "The real antisocialist forces do not always carry the "AE" emblem on their chests.

POLISH DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED, CRITICIZED

9 June Plenum

LD101026 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0500 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Warsaw dispatch by Frantisek Sojka]

[Text] On the agenda of the 11th session of the PZPR Central Committee yesterday were a report of the Politburo on the current situation in the country and preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, delivered by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and a discussion on the report.

The report says, among other things, that it is not possible to tolerate attacks against the socialist system and against the allies of Poland, and that the government cannot allow its activity to be paralyzed. The report also speaks about expressions of counter-revolutionary activity and the alarming increase of anti-Soviet conduct, about the fact that within Solidarity there are attempts to turn this trade union organization into an opposition political party, about the tendencies of some leaders of Solidarity to oppose the socialist system in Poland.

In a discussion on the report of the Political Bureau, the importance of democratic centralism and the need to observe its principles were stressed. The need for consistent implementation of the party Central Committee resolutions was also mentioned. The activity of the mass media was criticized, as was the fact that within Solidarity are forces which have never wanted to accept the role of a mere trade union association.

Participants in the discussion also called for radical steps to improve the present complex economic situation in Poland. The importance of Poland's membership in the community of socialist countries, and above all the alliance with the Soviet Union, was emphasized.

Economic Situation

LD091358 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The present economic situation in neighboring Poland interests not only us in Czechoslovakia, linked with that country by a number of economic ties, but as we can see from your letters also interests listeners abroad. We have therefore asked for some additional information from Frantisek Sojka, our permanent correspondent in Warsaw:

[Begin recording] The economic reform, the relation between prices and costs and report on the state of the Polish economy, foreign debts and ways to overcome the present economic crisis are issues which appear regularly in the daily newspapers and the magazines. They are discussed among the people and also at various meetings. Not only economists and politicians are concerned but today every Pole is concerned. And the most discussed issues include the adjustment of prices and the limitation of investments. And from this proceeds the need for the transfer of up to 1 million people to other places of work in other sectors. We cannot overemphasize the fact that these are not only economic, but at present also particularly sensitive political issues. There is the issue of the prices of basic foodstuffs, meat and flour-based products, the level of which has remained unchanged for many years despite the fact that the cost of their production is increasing all the time.

According to specialists, the jungle, literally, of the price policy can only be cleared by a thorough surgical cut. (?The present) discussion in the mass media is to ascertain the views of the public, and at the same time also to prepare it for these necessary steps. It is not an easy task, especially when after the recent considerable increase in the incomes of the population there should have followed a better attitude toward work and a gradual increase in production. At least this was what Solidarity, which pushed through the wage increases, was saying.

Not only has there not been an increase in production, on the contrary it continues to decrease. It is typical of the present situation that Walesa's trade unions do not hurry to join in solving these urgent issues. Their real aims and plans were indicated by an article in issue No 7 of the SOLIDARNOSC weekly. As one solution its author proposed the extension of the private sector in service and trade and permission to set up further privately owned workshops and other small workshops and even small enterprises. He stressed the importance of the free market and competition. As we can see, the views on the further path of the Polish economy are really quite different. The fact remains, however, that what could be done today--that is to improve work discipline and save materials--is not being done yet. And without this even the best plans and reorganization will remain on paper. [end recording]

Reminiscent of 1968

LD091916 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The crisis situation in Poland is accompanied by regularly recurring tension and strike threats put forth again by the leaders of Soldiarity. This is connected with constant psychological pressure deliberately undermining confidence in Poland's United Workers Party, the government and state organs. The aim is to denigrate all values connected with socialism. Among these values are the ties of friendship and cooperation with socialist countries.

We have been witnessing an upsurge of provocative attacks of anti-Soviet character. In various places in Poland facrications are being spread to denigrate the Soviet Union and its policy. This campaign is supported by power groups of the West which are linked with the military-industrial complex and which directly influence part of the mass media in capitalist countries. This amounts to direct cooperation with forces in Poland who desire counterrevolutionary changes in sociopolitical relations and who are eagerly working towards this objective. A thorn in the flesh of these elements is the friendship, alliance and cooperation of the People's Republic of Poland with socialist countries.

Counterrevolutionary forces have recently been instigating and supporting anti-Soviet sentiments as well as provocations and slander aimed at other socialist countries. This is reminiscent of the 1968 period in Czechoslovakia when rightwing forces within the Communist Pary, mounting a common platform with antisocialist elements, had launched a formidable anti-Soviet campaign aimed at undermining and eventually severing the ties of alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

It cannot be denied that it is the socialist countries which are genuinely interested in all-round stabilization in Poland and in this respect Poland is being supported and assisted by them. A concrete example is provided by mutual economic relations. As the Polish leaders themselves are pointing out, the country's economic situation is disastrous. Utilization of the industrial potential is decreasing: Insufficient raw material and material supplies are beginning to hamper industrial production. Exports are decreasing, which infavorably, influences Poland's capability of importing commodities. This year's economic plan, which has already been restricted as compared with previous years, will be corrected in a downward direction.

With a view to the existing economic situation no one can believe in miracles or a quick turn to the better. Although the existing economic sitation in Poland has an unfavorable impact on mutual economic and commercial relations with socialist countries, these relations continue to represent an important factor of economic assistance rendered to Poland.

Most effective are deliveries from the Soviet Union, especially as regards energetic [as heard] raw materials over and above the plan as well as currency for repaying debts and (?operative) purchases in capitalist countries.

We should add that prices of Soviet crude oil, natural gas, ores, cotton and so on are considerably lower than prices on world markets. This fact is yet another proof of the internationalist attitude of the Soviet people, which was also experienced by the people of Czechoslovakia in various difficult periods of postwar development.

Let us quote Stefan Olszowski, who said at a meeting of representatives of Poland's United Workers Party and representatives of Polish news media: The present crisis in the People's Republic of Poland can be overcome only through cooperation with socialist countries. Our ties of alliance or the principle of cooperation with socialist countries cannot be undermined. Anyone holding a different opinion has chosen the road of adventurism or is even working against Poland's state interests.

Party Workers' Views

AU091401 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jun 81 p 6

[Jan Lipavsky article: "Once Again in Bielsko-Biala; Invitation to the Small-Displacement Vehicles Plant"]

[Text] An invitation arrived saying that the primary PZPR organization in the small-displacement vehicles plant in Bielsko-Biala would like to meet us. The invitation did not specify what its purpose was but through a different channel we were told that people in the auto factory take exception to some assertions published in RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA. A few days ago on the basis of a similar invitation we visited the K.S. Wierczewski plant in Warsaw, where people also expressed their opinion on our work, and finally the meeting turned out to be beneficial for both sides. So why should it be any different in Bielsko-Biala, we thought.

We arrived on 1 June. The city was calm and, as we were told, work proceeded in its normal rhythm everywhere. The situation was quite different from the one we witnessed there 4 months ago when the entire voivodship was on strike. For 10 working days 60,000 people had stood idly by. Production losses exceeded the sum of Z3 billion. And all that was happening only because three people in the National Council allegedly lost the people's trust and "Solidarity," employing peculiar ways and means, forced their departure....

We recalled our interview with the chairman of the regional "Solidarity" organization, P. Kosmowski. The tall engineer told us at that time: "We represent the workers and no one else." When we objected, saying that there are surely state bodies representing workers' interests, Kosmowski resolutely declared: "The state? I beg you, what is the state? The state is not a worker--we do not identify the worker with the state."

We also recalled our conversations with some other people in the leadership of the Bielsko-Biala "Solidarity." Some of them shared our concern lest "Solidarity" turn into something other than rank-and-file members wish. They agreed that there are all kinds of pressure groups influencing "Solidarity" from within and from without, with the aim of imposing on it a political character. They agreed that there are various extremists and told us that they knew about cases of politicking among some leaders that is to the detriment of the cause. They were accessible to the argument that sooner or later it would be necessary to be dissociated from "advisers" such as Kuron or Michnik....

"It did not seem at that moment," we wrote in RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA on 9 February, "that all those young people are inaccessible to truth and logical arguments. Instead we had the impression that no competent people are discussing such issues with them."

And what is the situation now, after 4 months? We were told by friends in the city that people of Kosmowski's type are gradually losing ground and, owing mainly to their extremist positions, the trust of those they would like to "command."

Some believe that they will hardly succeed in the elections. However, it is also true that people like Kosmowski continue to try in all possible ways to "act as a proxy" for bodies of people's power, interfere in the party's internal affairs and are even issuing evaluation sheets for those who are to be elected or appointed to various voivodship posts. Only those who sing their song are good in their eyes. The others have to be on guard. A witch hunt against them may be organized at any time....

Does that mean that nothing has changed in those 4 months? One thing has changed, after all, we were told: People are gradually but clearly beginning to understand who is who and what goals he, in fact, pursues. But a long way still remains to be trodden before everything harming the good name of "Solidarity's" worker core is eliminated.

In the conference hall of the auto factory, which has grown in size in the last decade and has considerably contributed to Polish motorization, we were expected by a few dozen people, all of them party members, some of them also members of "Solidarity." All of them were in a militant mood. We scarcely greeted each other when the first question came: Where are the antisocialist forces in Poland you in Czechoslovakia keep writing about? Have you, in fact, come to understand what is going on here?

Be calm, comrades, calls Julian Kraus, first secretary of the primary organization committee, who is a delegate to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. But in that moment every appeal to calm is in vain.

You would underestimate our workers class if you thought that it lets itself be led by the nose by a few antisocialists in the country, says someone.

One cannot but gain the unfailing impression that this is a misunderstanding. It is, above all, Polish press and Central Committee sessions that speak openly about the existence of antisocialist forces in the country. Incidentally, this very gathering states that the workers class will not let itself be led by the nose by "a few antisocialists," that the handful of KOR people cannot "juggle" 35 million citizens and so forth. And the discussion thus first revolves around Kuron's KOR and its broad activities. But, as we are able to hear, there are still doubts as to whether this "handful of people" can be dangerous for socialism. The following exchange of views indicates that some of those present simply are not informed about the kind of the threat posed by KOR and its allies. Their notion is that counterrevolution always runs in the streets with gun in hand....

Nevertheless, it became clearer to our hosts why we in our country do not disregard facts warning against the threat posed by antisocialist forces, which assume diverse forms, employ diverse methods but have the same goal. They acknowledged our hard and bitter past experiences....

Some participants in the discussion claim one thing, others something different. The views vary.

Why are you against Solidarity?, a young man shouted, for instance. It is a workers organization, is it not? Or, tell me, why do you write critically about the "horizontal structures"? After all, the fact that representatives of primary organizations meet has nothing in common with factionism!

That initiated another round of questions and answers. We made it clear that no one is identifying the workers nucleus of "Solidarity" with some representatives of that organization, that we do not identify upright people with people engaged in politicking and so forth. We also made it clear what "horizontal structures" mean. Do they or do they not correspond to the party statutes? They defended themselves as follows: They do not correspond to the statutes but when those "below" wanted to act, should they wait until those "above" become consolidated? And the fact that such meetings may be taken advantage of, that some people may be exacting their dubious profits from such meetings, that is a different story....

But it was evident that not everyone shared that viewpoint, because, as one of those present declared, today we no longer identify with the existing concept of democratic centralism... someone else even voiced the belief that there must be more political parties in Poland, which--as we understood it--must compete for power among themselves. In that event, factions will stop to organize within the PZPR...that is what a "Solidarity" member said.

This was a rather characteristic moment of our exchange of views, which was full of contradictions. The auditorium murmured in disagreement, some seemed to be embarrassed because of what the man had just said. We inferred from the situation that even if the common sense of many did not manifest itself in the course of our discussion, it is certainly there, drowsing somewhere under the surface of all kinds of slogans that are so fashionable today, under the surface of an enormous tidal wave of various slogans.

Writing this we are aware of the risk that people in the auto factory may not agree with this statement, and--possibly--with other statements as well. But, after all, we reached agreement that it would be unrealistic if we wanted to agree on everything, completely, at this moment. Because as long as we do not call the same things by the same names and do not use the same language when referring to the same phenomena....

We had the impression that the auditorium, which was full of temperment and strongly emotional, was literally hungry for a dialogue. The monologue that has been going on for several months now keeps revolving around the same topic. Its leitmotif is, according to some "Solidarity" and KOR leaders, to pull down everything and to start building anew from scratch. After several months, people are already somewhat fed up with this monologue, simply because time flies and life is becoming more and more difficult. The prospect that matters might change for the better is still not in sight. We also understand other things; that in a situation in which there is a palpable shortage of basic foodstuffs it is excusable when someone, who, for instance, is scratching about in vain for cereal for his child, assumes extreme positions and views. However, those we met, or at least the great majority of them, know that precisely such attitudes add grist to the mill of those who have coined the slogan "the worse, the better."

There were things on which we reached agreement and there were things on which he failed to do so. But it is, perhaps, telling that after our discussion we were approached by the most militant participants in it, by those who were not choosy in their words and judgments. They apologized, saying that what they said was not ill-intentioned and that we should not regard it as some sort of hostility. On the contrary, they are glad that we came and that we at least know more about each other than we did. It is true that I do not agree with you on some things, one of them told us, but on other things I do. And you must understand that we here look at various things from the viewpoint of our enterprise...

We sensed that even people here are increasingly beginning to understand that "something is not in order" and that it will be good to learn a lesson from friends' experiences. It was, by the way, no accident that before the end of the discussion we were asked to say what it was like in our country in 1968. Some of them believed thereafter that the present situation in Poland is strikingly similar to the Czechoslovak experience of 13 years ago. One of the comrades added that the Polish developments look like "the same script, though with various corrections."

We parted as friends. "Come again, but without an invitation; whenever you feel like it," we heard people around us say.

Comrade Julian Kraus, first secretary of the primary organization's committee, told us: "Believe me, it is not without significance for us, for our party work, that you came and spoke with the people. It is good that what we heard was said by our friends, whose intentions are sincere."

That was stated by a man who received the absolute majority of votes in the party organization's elections, by a man who obviously enjoys trust among the 16,000 employees of the auto factory, just as do the other committee members.

DELEGATION LEAVES FOR USSR TALKS ON OIL PROCESSING

AU051735 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jun 81 p 2

[CTK report in the column "International Contacts"]

[Text] A delegation led by Alojz Kusalik, minister of industry of the Slovak Socialist Republic, departed this Wednesday for the Soviet Union, for negotiations with representatives of the Soviet Union's Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry. The delegation will be negotiating the expansion of mutual scientific-technical cooperation in the sphere of petroleum refining and petrochemical industry.

INDRA CHAIRS FEDERAL PRESIDIUM SESSION 9 JUNE

LD092140 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The current Presidium of the CSSR Federal Assembly met in Prague today for its final session. The session was chaired by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly. It discussed the proposal to convene constituent sessions of the chambers of the Federal Assembly and the proposal to convene the two chambers in joint session.

It was decided to convene the constituent session of the Chamber of Peoples and that of the Chamber of Nations on 17 June. A joint session of the chanbers, on the agenda of which will be the election of the chairman, the first deputy chairman and the deputy chairmen of the Federal Assembly, will also be convened on 17 June.

The Presidium also discussed reports on the foreign contacts undertaken by the Federal Assembly and the Czechoslovak group of the interparliamentary union in the first half of this year.

BRIEFS

METAL, ENERGY CONSERVATION SEMINAR--The ninth "National Days of Heat Treatment," aimed at contributing to implementing the state rationalization program of metal, material and energy conservation, opened in Bratislava on 2 June. Scientists, college professors and production experts from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, the FRG, Austria, Switzerland and the CSSR are attending the 3-day session. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jun 81 p 2 AU]

DECREASE IN PRODUCTION WORKERS--In the past decade, the number of white-collar employees in Czechoslovak industrial enterprises increased by 58,000. Over the same period, the number of production workers decreased by 43,000. The number of blue-collar workers in the Czechoslovak industry not involved in the production process, however, increased by 53,000. The number of industrial enterprises with more than 5,000 employees was reduced by 7, whereas the number of enterprises with fewer than 1,000 employees increased by 82. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 May 81 p 5 AU]

SLOVAK FIELD SITUATION--Perennial fodder crops, which are being cultivated on an area of 188,000 hectares in Slovakia, have been harvested from the first 25,000 hectares. Sugar beets, sown on almost 62,500 hectares in Slovakia this year, have been thinned out on 6,800 hectares so far. The sowing of potatoes is drawing to its end, with 3,200 hectares remaining to be sown in East Slovakia and less than 250 hectares in Central Slovakia. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 May 81 pp 1, 2 AU]

RADIO CITES TASS ON ISRAELI RAID ON IRAQ

LD092040 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1505 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Uta Beate (Seitz) commentary]

[Text] One of the principal news topics today is Israel's air raid on the Iraqi nuclear research center at Tammuz, near Baghdad. One reactor was completely destroyed and a French technician was killed. This renewed act of aggression has met with worldwide condemnation. Leading politicians like UN Secretary General Waldheim have voiced serious concern over the grave consequences which this Israeli act may have for peace and security. Uta Beate (Seitz) comments:

Once again, the reason given for this unscrupulous attack is the same that we have so often heard from Tel Aviv: Israel felt threatened. According to Israel's Prime Minister Begin, Iraq intended to produce atom bombs at the installation which has now been destroyed and use them against Israel. Yet, the facts give the lie to these allegations. The French Foreign Ministry has stated that it was France that supplied the reactors and French experts have assisted in construction of the installation. Official Iraqi statements have made it clear that the reactors are research reactors of a type of which about 50 are in operation throughout the world. The installation comes under the International Atomic Energy Agency and was checked by it as recently as the beginning of this year. Moreover, Iraq is one of the signatories of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and, according to international voices, there has been no indication whatever that Iraq has violated this treaty. Even the New York TIMES is compelled to admit that Israel was certainly not in mortal danger of being wiped out.

The danger it did face was losing its Middle East nuclear monopoly. And this is the crux of the matter. For, if there is a danger of atomic weapons being used in the Near and Middle East, it comes from Tel Aviv. International experts have established long since that as a result of Israel's close nuclear cooperation with South Africa, Tel Aviv is in a position to produce the dangerous bomb, if it does not already possess it. Nor have Tel Aviv and Pretoria shown any inclination to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, despite repeated request to do so.

Who then threatens whom? Who attacked a few days after the establishment of its state its Arab neighbors? Who attacked in the 6-Day War in 1967? Who started the 1973 Middle East war? Who attacks Palestinian refugee camps? Who attacks southern Lebanon? Who has created such a serious situation in the Middle East that the outbreak of yet another clash of arms can be expected any day? Under threat is the Palestinian people and the Arab states allied with it, and the threat comes from Tel Aviv.

Under threat as a result of the aggressive policy of the Zionists is world peace as a whole. The latest preventive strike of the Begin government has now raised tension in the crisis area to the boiling point and caused considerable horror even in the West. Tel Aviv really should not have gone as far as that, that is how the reaction there can be summed up. But one can only wonder: Was not what has gone before sufficient to cut any additional support for Israel? After all, it was modern U.S. fighter-bombers which dropped the bombs on the Iraqi nuclear research center. After all, TASS has just now reported, this act of piracy was undertaken, contrary to official assertions, not without Washington's permission. U.S. television commentators have already dropped clear hints that Washington knew about the plans for a surprise attack by the Israeli Air force on Iraq. And finally, who has enabled Israel through political, financial and, above all, military means, to carry out its aggressive policy?

LEADERS ATTEND ELECTION MEETINGS ACROSS COUNTRY

Honecker in Karl-Marx-Stadt

LD092202 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1654 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Karl-Marx-Stadt, 9 Jun (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Karl-Marx-Stadt today for meetings and talks with the electors of his constituency.

In front of the town hall of this workers' town, rich in traditions, thousands of working people cordially greeted their leading candidate for the People's Chamber elections on 14 June. Kurt Mueller, the mayor, welcomed Erich Honecker who acquainted himself, together with Siegfried Lorenz, first secretary of Karl-Marx-Stadt SED Bezirk executive, and other candidates of constituency No 37 about the initiatives and achievements of the working people, in connection with the election appeal of the National Front for the implementation of the demanding tasks of the 80's.

After the cordial welcome, Mayor Kurt Mueller briefed Erich Honecker in the conference hall of the town hall, by presenting the apartment construction as an example, on the results of the competition of Karl-Marx-Stadt working people with which they will go to the polls on 14 June. Other issues that were the focal point of the talks, in which other candidates for the People's Chamber of this constituency had taken part, were questions about the reconstruction of residential areas through 1990.

Erich Honecker thanked the working people of Karl-Marx-Stadt by making an entry in the Golden Book of Honor for their prominent achievements in the strengthening of the GDR and wished them further success.

Mittag, Naumann, Herrmann at Meetings

LD092354 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1633 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Berlin, 9 Jun (ADN)--Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, paid tribute on Tuesday at an election meeting in Strausberg near Berlin to the effective and constructive contribution of the GDR to the preservation and consolidation of peace. Mittag, who spoke to the employees of the GDR Ministry of Defense as the leading candidate for the election on 14 June, pointed out that in the GDR the exploitation of man by man has been done away with and that for the first time in German history the well-being of the people has been organically linked with the ruling social system and with the interests of the ruling class.

The 10th SED Congress decided on tasks which affect the present and the future of the GDR, the speaker said. They serve the continuation of the general course contained in the SED program. The politician stressed: "We shall always protect and defend this country in which the prosperity of the working people and of all citizens represents the foremost interest of the state, in which all the values of humanism are being fostered, in which are preserved all the revolutionary traditions of the German workers' movement and in which socialism is being shaped. To this end the National People's Army is making a very decisive contribution side by side with the Soviet Army."

To share in working, to share in planning, to share in governing is in the GDR both the right and the duty of every citizen. Much depends on it at a time when the international situation has become tangibly worse due to the confrontation course pursued by the imperialist forces. This was stated by Konrad Naumann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the SED Berlin area executive, on Tuesday, in an election speech at the Elektrokohle enterprise in Berlin.

The overwhelming citizen loyalty to the 14 June elections is a response which cannot be estimated too highly by all the agitators of imperialism. It is a clear sign of the unity of all patriotic forces of the GDR National Front, the politician said.

"We do not just pay lipservice to peace, but opt for continuing the policy of active securing peace. The GDR, in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, has for years been pursuing this policy in partnership with all peace partisans worldwide," Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, told an election meeting of young people in Friedrichshain District, Berlin, on Tuesday. "This policy will be adopted by the people we elect to our parliaments in line with our election manifesto," he added.

Herrmann, a leading candidate in the 14 June elections, said: "It is logical for us to say: Whoever wants peace will do something about it. Whoever wants peace will elect the National Front candidates on 14 June." The suffering and distress inflicted by fascism on citizens in World War II must never recur.

Jewish Leader on Vote

AU091618 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Jun 81 p 2

[Statement by Helmut Aris, president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in the GDR: "My Vote for Peace"--date, place of statement not given]

[Text] It is pointed out in the election appeal of the National Front, which I approved as a National Council member at the session on 27 April 1981, that with pride and optimism we are going to elect the GDR People's Chamber, the bezirk assemblies, and the assembly of city councillors of our capital of Berlin.

The yearning for understanding among peoples and peace determines my constant activity for peace. This yearning has found an expression in the statements of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 10th SED Congress. To preserve peace, to consolidate and protect it, is the vital task of mankind, the election appeal says. This determines our struggle against the stepped up armament of NATO, against its nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe, because peace is the most important thing for all people.

Only in peace is it possible to preserve what our republic has achieved, and peace only promotes understanding among peoples and progress throughout the whole world. This is why on 14 June 1981 all our votes will go to the candidates of the National Front, for the well-being of our republic and hence also for peace.

MPRP'S TSEDENBAL THANKS HONECKER FOR CONGRATULATIONS

AU091651 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Jun 81 p 2

[ADN report: "Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party Reaffirms Close Friendship"]

[Text] Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party [MPRP], has cordially thanked Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, for his congratulations. The cable reads as follows:

Esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker:

I would like to cordially thank you and through you the SED Central Committee for the heartfelt congratulations and best wishes on my election as MPRP general secretary.

The relations of fraternal friendship and close cooperation between our two parties, peoples and countries are a source of joy for us. We are glad for the development and consolidation of our relations for the further strengthening of the unity of the socialist community countries as well as of the ranks of the international communist and workers movement.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you, dear Comrade Erich Honecker, as well as the GDR's communists and working people, great new successes in implementing the historic decisions of the 10th SED Congress for setting up the developed socialist society in your country, and for strengthening peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

TRADE UNION CHAIRMAN TISCH VISITS ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE

For ADN reports on the visit to Angola by Harry Tisch, FDGB chairman and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, including an account of his 25 May talk with Jose Eduarde dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, and ADN reports of Tisch's visit to Mozambique, including an account of the 26 May meeting between Harry Tisch and Jorge Rebelo, member of the Standing Political Committee and secretary of the Mozambique Liberation Front Central Committee, see the Southern Africa section of the 27 May, 1 and 5 June editions of the Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT.

REPORTAGE ON 11th PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Plenum Opens 9 June

LD091315 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The 11th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee opened in Warsaw at 1400. The meeting is chaired by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee, who is submitting the Politburo report: The Current Situation in the Country and Preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR.

Introductory Remarks

LD091920 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Introductory remarks by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kania to 9 June PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw before delivery of PZPR Politburo report--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I welcome you to the session of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee. We have called it in order to examine the situation in the country and the state of preparations to the ninth extraordinary party congress. This is the agenda which is justified by the situation. As you all know the CPSU Central Committee has sent to us, to the Central Committee of our party, a letter. This is an act of great significance and that is why we immediately sent this document to all the members of the Central Committee, to the deputy members, and to the members of the Auditing Commission, and during our deliberations we must remember this act.

The comrades have received the draft regulations of the session. We intend to hold the session today and tomorrow--it seems that it is not possible to complete it during the night. Therefore, it is assumed that the session will last till about 2100 [1900 GMT], you agree, and tomorrow we could start it at 0900 [0700 GMT]. Sleeping accommodations have been prepared for everyone. Are there any comments about the agenda and the regulations of the session? None. Therefore I understand we can deem the agenda and regulations as approved.

Plenum To Be Extended

NC091836 Paris AFP in English 1830 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (AFP)--The Polish United Workers' (communist) Party's 11th Plenum is to be extended until tomorrow, First Secretary Stanislaw Kania said today.

The one-day meeting was originally scheduled to end today.

Party working groups were to examine a letter sent to the party's Central Committee by Soviet Leader Leonid Brezhnev.

Well-informed sources here said the letter contained an "extremely serious warning," and a charge that the Polish leadership had been incapable of dealing with "counter-revolution".

Kania Addresses Plenum

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[Report of the PZPR Politburo entitled "The Current Situation in the Country and Preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress," delivered by PZPR Central Committe First Secretary Stanislaw Kania to the 9 June Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades. Today we are going to evaluate the situation in the country and the course of the precongress campaign.

We have entered the peak period in congress preparations. Voivodship report-back and election conferences have begun, and party authorities and delegates to the congress are being elected. Thus far 476 comrades have been elected as congress delegates, 22 percent of whom are workers. Still there are not enough of them. There are very few of them among delegates.

The party and millions of Poles place great hopes upon the congress. It is expected that programmatic and personnel results at the congress will become a turning point in the development of the situation, and in the consolidation of the party's Marxist-Leninist profile, the Central Committee's authority and the party's position in society.

Without such a Marxist-Leninist party, without its leading role, neither the development nor defense of socialist construction is possible.

The precongress campaign has brought about a great increase in the activity of party organizations.

The process of overcoming an ideological lack of direction is developing. The discussion at party meetings and conferences is unusually lively and full of passion. The reality of the democratic election of delegates is quite valuable. In the enormous majority of cases, delegates elected to voivodship party conferences and to the congress are comrades of an unambiguous, crystallized ideological attitude. Taking into consideration that the principles of holding such free elections are being applied for the first time, we are able to assess that their results are not bad. A natural process is occurring of injecting youth into the party apparatus.

Unfortunately there are also cases of electoral demagogy, of activities dealing not in the assessment of individual attitudes and assets of activists but in the mechanical elimination from the leadership of comrades with longstanding experience in party affairs or who hold posts in the party apparatus. This is a very dangerous tendency. Cases of this kind threaten a break in the continuity of committee work; a weakening of their activity; and a failure to exploit experienced party cadres.

We appeal therefore to delegates to conferences to take a cautious attitude toward the elections; not to submit to slogans, often introduced from outside, to eliminate self-sacrificing and honest comrades. We must also counter attacks on workers in the party apparatus, or those attempts to make it difficult for them to get work after leaving committees. Our party, in the course of the precongress discussion, is making a broad and harsh self-criticism of errors committed.

Many critical comments are being made against the Central Committee and its Politburo. Seeing what was bad in the past which weakened the party's link with the working class, which deformed the country's development, and which broke the principles of the system of government serves to restore the trust of working people in the party and the reconstruction of its leading role in political and state life.

At the same time, our party must with all determination oppose the nihilistic attitude to the achievements of socialist development in Poland; to the historical achievements in guaranteeing the inviolability of her frontiers and secure existence of the nation. The negation of the enormous contribution of our party in realizing the vital interests of the Polish nation is no longer just criticism of mistakes but an attack mounted by the opponents of socialism with the idea of depriving our party of its constitutional right and ability to carry out the leading role in society and the state.

Beginning with the sixth session of the Central Committee, our party, with constant patience and consistency, is guided by the line of agreement with all social forces, based on socialism and socialist renewal. Our enemies are counting on the struggle against the party being won by its debilitating and internal split. Our answer must be to unify the party; to guarantee its cohesion and increase its ability to fight against hostile views.

This should restore the party's standing as the leading force in socialist construction. This is the supreme task in the preparation for the ninth congress.

The party bears the historic responsibility for the fate of the consolidation of the guarantee of Poland's independent existence. On these fundamental issues nobody can replace the party. For that reason, the struggle for the ideological and organizational strengthening of the party and its unity has a national dimension.

Today more than ever before, united party action is needed with freedom of discussion within the framework of Marxist-Leninist principles. The interests of the party and of Poland are identical. They must dominate over the phenomena of dogged obstinacy, of particularism, and of personal animosity. The next meetings of the Central Committee expressed an opinion on the phenomenon of horizontal agreements. We recall that we took an understanding attitude toward the causes which inclined some comrades to take part in agreements which created an opportunity for an exchange of views and joint work.

At the same time we warned that the activity could not lead to undermining the party's ideological and organizational principles. In a majority of cases during preparations for the congress, cooperation among comrades participating in horizontal agreements occurred, and union with party branches was made. However, we must not ignore the fact that for various reasons opposite cases have also occurred. In some centers an activity has developed which aims to impose its will on statute echelons and entire aktivs. So simultaneously with valuable trends to find ways of making ideological and political activity more convincing, there have appeared trends which deny the party's Leninist principles. The trends of clearly social-democratic views are threatening the unity of the party and its ability to perform the leading role in society.

On the other hand, conservative trends have been taking shape which emanate from the general criticism of the line of agreement and socialist renewal. This criticism is due to various difficulties encountered in the introduction of this line. However, the main danger is opportunism and social-democratization of the party. Various negative signs which have appeared in the party may raise concern about the course of the congress. In this matter the position of the Politburo is as follows: The congress has to be held at the set time; at the same time we must overcome everything that weakens the party and threatens its Marxist-Leninist character and Leninist principles of operation.

There is nothing more important than uniting the main forces of the party in the struggle to overcome the crisis and to implement the socialist renewal. To date, counting on prudence and reason, we have resorted only rarely to disciplinary measures. Today, however, we have to resort resolutely, in all cases where ideological principles and principles of party discipline are violated, to measures which will support activities to unite the party.

Comrades! For some time now we have been carrying out our work in an exceptionally complex political situation which is full of tensions. We have used sharp words on more than one occasion in assessing the threats. Phenomena of anarchy and deliberate counter-revolutionary activities pose threats to socialism, to national existence. A process of paralyzing the organs of authority is in progress.

In the Politburo report at the 10th Central Committee Plenum we described the nature of countrrevolutionary activities aimed at the party and socialism. What has changed in our situation since April? There have not been any mass strikes but the threat of strike has been used constantly against the authorities.

Recently the announcement of a strike for 11 June was made. It is a good thing that commonsense has triumphed here as well and that the strike has been postponed.

The scope of anti-Soviet activities [wystapnionie] at various gatherings, in pamphlets and even in unofficial local publications is disquieting.

There have been cases of desecration of monuments symbolizing gratitude to the Soviet Army. We can all see the negative influence which the progressive decline in social discipline and violations of public law and order have on political stabilization.

Threats to citizens' safety are growing. In relation to last year, the number of crimes has risen seriously. We note cases of aggressive behavior by the perpetrators of crimes and misdemeanors toward militia officials who intervene. Our country has become an arena for the preparation of false information and slanders distributed in thousands of copies. Under the slogans of democracy, various forms of pressure are being introduced into our life, including psychological pressure from various positions, under various pretexts, but always with the idea of defaming people devoted to the cause of socialism. The machinery of authority--the party aktiv, the militia, the security services and the prosecutor's office--is being attacked particularly sharply and on a broad front. It is no accident that the contents of the leaflets circulating throughout Poland are becoming more and more reminiscent of Radio Free Europe programs during the cold war period.

Negative political phenomena within Solidarity are also intensifying. Thanks to people connected with the Social Self-Defense Committee and other opponents of socialism, the process of transforming Solidarity from a trade union into an opposition political organization still continues. The whole arsenal of slogans and activities, which create tensions brought into play, damage stabilization, give rise to distrust concerning the authorities and create situations in which individual cells of the administration cannot fulfill their tasks. There is also actual discussion about setting up a new opposition party on the basis of Solidarity.

This is all contrary to the workers' interests and their feelings. It must also be seen that such a development has to lead to confrontation, to the most dramatic of results. We will do everything to prevent that prospect. It must be clear, however, that now this does not depend on one side alone.

Our internal situation, full of complexities and dangers, can call into question the correctness of the line of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, the line of socialist renewal. The Politburo thinks that there is no sensible alternative to this line, despite the difficulties. It is not the line, therefore, which should be corrected; effective methods of implementing it will have to be sought. A great mobilization is needed to defend the socialist character of renewal. The means to date have turned out to be not every effective. The danger to socialism, to national existence, is constantly growing. For this reason it has to be said with the greatest gravity from this podium that the authorities cannot permit the paralysis of its function to be tolerated. There must be a sharp reaction to every case of infringement of law and order. There must be no more tolerance of activities directed against socialism, against our alliances, against friendly relations with the Soviet Union. This kind of practice must be evident from tomorrow onward. We address the millions of members of Solidarity with an assurance that the party will support everything in its activity which is in accordance with the trade union statute, which serves workers' interests, just as we will continue to lend support to consolidating the Industrial Branch Trade Unions and their position among workers.

We firmly oppose giving Solidarity the character of a political opposition, the character of a destructive force in the socialist state. This must become clear to all the leading echelons of Solidarity.

A tremendously important role in the political struggle waged by the party is discharged and should be discharged by the mass media. Thus ensuring the leading role of the party with regard to the information and propaganda media is of the utmost importance. We support consistently the improvement and deepening of press, radio and television information and the creation of better and more effective information channels.

Examples of this are the direct relays from the Sejm, as well as the considerable expansion of information concerning the plenary meetings of the Central Committee. We have also committed various errors by unnecessarily delaying the publication of certain information. The readiness of journalists to observe the suggestions motivated by the interests of the socialist renewal was weakened. Sometimes there was also a weakening of the capacity to make a sober assessment of what serves this cause and what only hampers and halts it by its consequences.

The 10th Central Committee Plenum clearly ascertained that the party must not give up and will not give up inspiring its organs and other information and propaganda media. Neither can it give up influencing these bodies. The largest possible role must be played by the responsibility borne by the journalists' milieu for the printed and published word and by the sensible activities of party members among journalists, managements and editorial groups.

Many negative manifestations have emerged in the press columns, and also in radio and television programs. A slackening of ideological criteria in publications has taken place.

We are witnessing the enthusiastic reflection of wrong viewpoints which emerge in public debates. There is also a strange fascination with these viewpoints. Many authors appear to be influenced by bourgeois concepts of a free play of forces and integral democracy. They see renewal as a one-sided process in which all changes count, but in which factors concerning the continuation of the main principles of the undeniable achievements of the country's 36 years of socialist transformation do not count.

We must return to the class view of the processes taking place in the country, and to their political and ideological eloquence. This means that most important are those objectives and contents of renewal which correspond to the strivings and interests of the working class, whose protest against degeneration has started the current transformations. Disregard for the ideological compass leads to bearings marked by social solidarism, to turning a blind eye to the front of struggle, to the counterrevolutionary threat, and to the blunting of the point of the struggle against all actions directed against socialism.

There is no adequate repulse to utterances, leaflets and other texts containing a weight of rightwing opinions aimed against our party and against socialism or of an anti-Soviet nature. There is also a weakening of discipline in editorial terms. This must be rstored through the strengthening of the role of editorial managements. It is necessary to have recourse to decisions on personnel.

The role of the press, radio and television consists not only of the reflection but also of the forming of opinions toward national salvation, overcoming the crisis and consolidation of the fundamental contents of our system. The purpose is not to suppress justified criticism but to win over public opinion for constructive solutions. This is also in line with the Sejm's decision. The bill on the control of publications and public performances is being drafted in this spirit.

The undertaking and promotion of initiatives designed to improve the country's extremely difficult economic situation and to enhance the work done by industry and agriculture is of particular importance. A struggle against waste, speculation and a careless, light-hearted attitude toward the citizen and toward his everyday needs and problems is imperative.

We tell journalist circles, comrades in the press organs of our party, and those who work in radio and television that they should exploit all possibilities of action for reducing social tension and excitement, and for strengthening calm and public order, the prestige of the authorities, of the state and of administrative organs.

Comrades, the 11th plenum is taking place at a time of an unprecedented accumulation in economic difficulties. Their causes are generally known; they are connected with the mistakes of the past, from the sphere of economic policy in the last decade, with the deep disproportions which are its result, and with the indebtedness of the country abroad, which is throttling the national economy.

This is, however, only part of the truth. A fair number of the causes of the present difficulties have arisen in recent months, and they are still arising. They consist of the very poor results of last year, expressed in the drop in the level of industrial and agricultural production, and of the bad work results during the 5 months of this year. Industrial production in this period is 11.7 percent lower than in the corresponding period for last year. This is expressed with particular intensity in the fall in coal extraction: in the 5 months of this year this is 19 million tons less than last year.

The state of our economy is very serious and, unfortunately, despite the undertaking of various actions by the government it still continues to deteriorate. In material production, trends toward a decline predominate and even intensify. For this reason they are lower, in comparison with last year, than the planned assumptions as well as the market supplies. Above all exports are much lower. The decline in production results from difficulties in supplying domestic and imported raw materials. It results from lower productivity; to no mean degree it is influenced by the shortened work time of the production works, particularly those connected with raw materials. Lower supplies to the market, combined with the considerable increase in income, contribute toward the already enormous dimensions of chaos on the market. Supplies of basic items are decreasing, while at the same time the flow of money circulating for the population, on the basis of the social agreements, is increasing. This causes the profound disruption of this market. We find serious shortages of basic goods occurring in it and in its open market sector speculative prices are formed, which strike in particular at the budgets of the less well-off families. The lower supplies for export cause the automatic reduction of import supplies from the capitalist countries, as well as from some socialist countries, which closely link their supplies to our meeting our export deliveries. This gives rise to growing payments difficulties, and reduced imports increase production difficulties. In such a situation the rationing of goods in short supply is becoming more widespread on the home market, rationing which despite all the imperfections as regards its very concept and practice ensures a relatively fair division of goods. We must not waste a single chance in production for the home market, particularly as regards basic articles, both foodstuffs and industrial articles.

As regards foreign trade, apart from the efforts being made at the government level, we must undertake radical actions aimed at activating export production in order to obtain assistance from the socialist countries, particularly from the Soviet Union, and in order to postpone at least some of the credit payments and to gain fresh credits. It is by means of export production, particularly by means of the execution of export orders based on raw materials guaranteed by the contracting parties, that efforts must be made in order to extricate our economy thus from its stagnation, to exploit all spare production capacity and to reduce the scale of necessary employment cuts. The longstanding chaos in the investments process is being overcome with great difficulty. Overall, the course of economic processes forces the government to submit to the Sejm proposals for amending the aims and tasks of the plan up to realistic levels. We must be fully aware of the consequences of this step.

The drop in national income will amount to approximately 14 percent. The drop in industrial output will be more than Z300 billion. This will cause a drop in the material consumption possibilities and also in investment.

The preparations for the congress are thus taking place in worsening economic conditions. This is accompanied by a great deal of mistrust and even accusations to the effect that goods shortages are being deliberately created in the home market. This is nonsense. The state authorities do not have at their disposal any reserves worth mentioning of market and supply goods, apart from absolutely vital reserves.

The exceptionally difficult situation requires that objective and effective measures be taken on several economic fronts. Temporary measures must also be accompanied by the aspiration to formulate satisfactorily the shape of economic reform, particularly including the role and function of workers' self-government in enterprises functioning independently. We must not delay the introduction of reform until the economy stabilizes, and we must not tidy up the economy without reforming this economy.

Reforms ought to be introduced to put the economy in order, even by means of temporary solutions, with full awareness that one cannot count on a speedy improvement of the economic situation. It is also essential to begin discussion on reforming supply and retail prices. These changes ought to be well prepared, preceded by broad social discussion, and surrounded by social understanding. The situation also requires special solutions, including placement in the fore of such production objectives which have to be realized over a period of time, even at the cost of other objectives. One ought to see in the foreground the production of foodstuffs, medicines, power, basic raw materials, housing construction and export requirements. We want to bring about stabilization of the economy. And in particular we want to reverse the negative economic and national trend in a relatively short period of time, within the next few years, and stop the drop in national income and start a period of economic growth. There exists the possibility of Poland extricating itself from the unusually difficult crisis situation in the economy: Well organized and productive work alone will provide a guarantee of overcoming these difficulties. This is why the national interest compels one to set for oneself the task of using to the maximum all the capabilities which are at our disposal. All industries which have guaranteed production resources, especially mining and raw materials industries, but also some processing industries which depend on domestic raw materials, ought to work 6 days a week. We make this appeal in the first place to miners, in whose hands and on whose efforts a great deal depends as regards Poland extricating itself from the profound economic crisis. This applies also to the agricultural and food industry which, in the interest of all families, ought to make the most of even the last kilogram of agricultural produce, such as milk, vegetables, fruit and other fruits of the earth. Thus, the supply of goods for the market will be made good as quickly as possible, the essential autumn and winter stocks will be gathered, and some of the products will be exported. The current year in agriculture, according to today's forecasts, looks good. It is a good chance for us and nobody has a right to waste it. It is in the interest of working people that the decisions negotiated by the government and the trade unions be effective. Not just the letter of agreements is important; the spirit of the social agreements is particularly important. From this point of view it is necessary to look at some of the decisions entered into. The amazement of the Western press is caused, for instance, by the fact that the Polish community which is getting into greater and greater economic difficulties also demands as comfortable working conditions as in the most highly developed countries.

Let us reject the tone of these Western pronouncements which are unfavorable toward us. The essence of the problem remains. For objective observers of Poland, for many Poles, it is obvious that some decisions contained in the social contract should be temporarily suspended, or at least limited in part for the period of greatest difficulties for the country. This matter ought to become the subject of negotiations and new decisions. In order to improve the exceptionally difficult economic situation it is necessary to unite the efforts of the administration, the Industrial Branch Trade Unions, Solidarity, the party, and other parties; efforts of everyone in order to improve the situation.

Here there cannot be a division between those who are responsible and those who control. The trade unions must, in the interest of the country, also accept coresponsibility for the level of production, as this is the issue of national existence, of our families and all individuals, and not just a problem invented by the authorities. Our party, right from the beginning of the sharp social tensions in Poland, that is, from July and August of last year, has been consistently in favor of the line of social accord. This also is a stance adopted in the negotiations with the trade union representatives. Some of them, guided by their own ambitions, treat this attitude of the authorities as the expression of a lack of decisiveness. The state authorities, the leadership, the party are resolute in wanting to defend the cause of socialism right to the end.

Let there be no illusions about this among those Solidarity leaders who are playing for change of the social system.

As far as this issue is concerned, all circles of the rightwing of the community [prawica spoleczna] must abandon their illusions.

The policy of social accord is viewed by the party as a permanent point of political orientation. It does not have any short-term or tactical features. Our party, the allied parties and the whole front of common sense and political responsibility support this policy. There is room in this front for everyone, for all organizations, for believers and nonbelievers. The realistic undercurrent of Solidarity and the forces of the church which are committed in a civic manner can play an important role in it.

The party's policy is the policy of socialist renewal. Defined as long ago as the sixth plenum, the essence of this policy is restoration of the fundamental values of socialism and the ideological norms of Leninism in the life of our party and aiming for the development of socialist democracy in combination with respect for law and the strengthening of social discipline. This is a policy aimed at strengthening the leading role of the party, aimed at modernizing the management and running of a socialist economy and the state. This policy consolidates the concepts of social justice and restores ethical-moral norms. It creates conditions for shaping humanistic relations among people and respecting the dignity of man, the worker and the citizen. These are the guidelines of our party as a Marxist-Leninist party fighting for socialist ideals and wishing to act together with and in agreement with the working class and with all patriotic forces of the nation.

Esteemed comrades! The historical experience of our nation, of People's Poland, proves irrefutably that belonging to the community of socialist states and the alliance with the Soviet Union have been and continue to be the fundamental preconditions for our security, for the permanence of our borders and for peaceful development. Every trend which as an objective consequence threatens to undermine this precondition must damage the most vital interests of the nation.

Poland is part of the alliance of socialist states, of their defense and economic system, and it is an important factor in the alignment of forces in Europe and in the world as a whole. It is precisely thanks to this alignment of forces that it has been possible to guarantee the conditions for stabilization and security of the socialist states and peace in Europe.

Thus it is plain that what violates or weakens this alignment of forces gives rise to concern among all those who created the peaceful future of Europe and who are fighting for this future to be implemented.

For the fraternal socialist countries the weakening of Poland is also a threat to the joint interests of their security, a threat to the foundations on which we base the mechanisms of economic cooperation, which are favorable to all sides.

The worry and anxiety of the fraternal parties about the direction in the development of the situation in Poland are, therefore, fully justified: the worries about the consequences, the prolonging of the state of crisis; anxiety about the effects it can have on the security and development of the community of the socialist state.

This concern, flowing from the deepest--because they are based on class and ideological principles--friendship relations, was the basis for the letter of the CPSU Central Committee to the Central Committee of our party.

You are all acquainted with this letter, comrades. Our friends have the full right to such reactions. The party of Lenin bears in our community the main burden of responsibility for the security of our community and the fate of socialism in the world. There are also sufficient reasons for a great fear [trwoga] for the development of the political situation in our country. That is why we consider with greatest attention the Soviet concern, and all friendly comments.

The process of weakening the state structures which has been going on for months, the occurrences of anarchy in the life of the community, the divisions which threaten the disintegration of the party--all these question the credibility of our pledges as allies.

Failing to keep our pledges as regards economic cooperation creates considerable difficulties for our allies. It infringes the functioning of the whole system of mutual interconnections in this sphere. The role of our country as an active factor in the policy of detente and international disarmament has been weakened. Our allies are angry at the dirty wave of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, the slanderous leaflets, the primitive falsifications of the essence of our relations with the Soviet Union, the barbarous acts of damage to the monuments and graves of Soviet soldiers, which are contrary to the feeling of our national dignity and responsibility.

Any honest man, any citizen--even those far from having any socialist convictions--must feel shame with the above-mentioned facts. Respect for the memory of those who died for our freedom, respect for the toil of the working people of the Soviet Union who assisted us in the most difficult moments in the past and today--these are the most elementary, moral requirements. Against the background of political realities the flaming of anti-Soviet feelings constitutes, without doubt, part of the general strategy aimed against socialism in Poland and internationally. There is one goal: to isolate socialist Poland from her allies, to place it on its own, facing the threats to the (?political system) of the state and in consequence, our sovereign national existence; to gain a trump card in the fight against the forces of social progress on a global scale. It is the cause of all the activists of our party, of party journalists, of all activists, to develop an extensive activity to explain the deepest reasons and unquestionable benefits flowing from Polish-Soviet relations and relations with the fraternal socialist countries.

The development of the Polish situation is gaining an ever increasing international dimension. This is not a handbook statement. It is a real fact that we live in a divided world, in a world of class struggle and ideological confrontation between socialism and imperialism. In this struggle a negative situation in Poland becomes an element of more and more importance.

The forces of belligerent anticommunism and cold war are whipping up tension and attempting to create conflicts in Poland, thus involving the Soviet Union in them for a strategic purpose, the achievement of which would make it possible to set up a situation conforming to their ideas in other regions of the world in the interests of imperialism.

The exacerbation of the international situation in connection with Poland has become for the aggressive forces a pretext for fresh armament efforts and for adopting a more rigid stance in all controversial matters of policy on a European and world scale. We also perceive, of course, in the policies of the capitalist states in Western Europe such realistic trends, the aim of which is to make sure that the development of the situation in Poland does not undermine the process of detente, which has been weakened in any case, and in particular does not disturb the peaceful stabilization in Europe. This is why the course of events in Poland has been giving rise to justified concern in those circles.

We say plainly and resolutely: Poland is and will remain a socialist state, a link in the defense pact of the Warsaw Treaty and in the economic community of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Poland will fulfill from A to Z her allied commitments stemming from the treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and with all the fraternal countries. But today these declarations will not suffice. We must fill them with convincing examples. Everyone who thinks in terms of responsibility for the fatherland must understand that only a socialist Poland in which the leading role is carried out by and the direction for the development of which is set by the Marxist-Leninist party can be a credible ally--a party which is based on the rules of the construction of socialism and which takes into account, when it applies these rules, the historically-shaped national and special traits.

It must be clearly said: The disintegration of the party and the undermining of its role as the leading force of the construction of socialism, and all activities aimed at achieving a political system in our country which do not agree with the principles and correctness [prawidlowosc] of socialism, are striking at the foundation of our sovereignty and security which results from our membership in the community of the socialist states. Internationalism is a prominent ideological value in our party and will continue to be so as well as socialist international solidarity. It is a great historic achievement of the PZPR that it was able to unite internationalist principles and patriotic national aims into one political program and one system of action. We shall guard this historic achievement. We are, as a party, a part of the international communist and workers' movement. We constitute a factor in its unity, being responsible not only for our nation and our country but also for the fate of socialism, for its future, for peace in Europe and the world. Time, resilience and ideological strength are needed in order to resolve the incredibly difficult problems which are carried on the wave of the present crisis. There is a need for a particular feeling of responsibility, imagination and the strength of foresight in order to cope with the new tasks. An analysis shows that it is imperative not to withdraw on any point. We must not avoid the struggle on any level where the threat to socialism occurs and therefore a threat to the fatherland.

In its letter, the CPSU said: The serious threat which has appeared against socialism in Poland constitutes a threat to the very existence of the independent Polish state.

We have acted, for the sake of internal peace, by methods of accord. Today, in the name of the defense of the independence of the socialist fatherland, we appeal to party members, to members of the fraternal parties ZSL and SD, to the trade unions and to the youth organizations, to women's organizations, to all the patriots (?for) united thoughts and efforts on the front of civic responsibility. We are capable of resisting all threats. It is necessary to consolidate the party, to prepare and to carry out a successful congress and to develop an effective struggle in order to resolve the crisis, to struggle against the counterrevolutionary threat and against anarchy. This depends on us, on the party, on the Central Committee and the Politburo. Whoever supports us in our actions will pass the test in one of the most dramatic moments of the 1,000 years of Polish history.

Debates Follow Kania Speech

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[Text] The speech delivered by Stanislaw Kania was followed by a debate.

The first to speak was Central Committee member and first secretary of the Torun Voivodship party committee, Zygmunt Najdowski, who emphasized that party members fully realized the burden of responsibility resting on their shoulders. In the opinion of the speaker, the present crisis should be overcome, at all costs, with the party's own resources. This requires a clear outline of the [word indistinct] of the struggle and the rousing of the party's fighting spirit. As regards the main problems, it is necessary to include among them confirmation of the necessary reforms of life in the country and the arrangement of mutual relationships between the PZPR and the trade union movement, and especially the NSZZ Solidarity; the latter, however, must be faithful to its statute and must become, in accordance with that statute, an important and responsible partner in the solution of the social and economic problems of the country. The speaker regarded as especially important for the party the preservation of the party's ideological foundations and the implementation in practice of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and the strengthening of the leading role of the party.

Next to speak was Ryszard Labus, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Grozow Wielkopolski Voivodship party committee, who expressed his conviction that the 11th Central Committee Plenum should represent a turning point in party activities.

Referring to the difficult situation of the country, the speaker said that the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum produced an assessment of the situation but did not fully draw conclusions from that situation; neither were these conclusions put into effect with adequate consistency. One must treat one's own resolutions with proper respect. This is a key issue because we, ourselves, must find a solution to the political, social and economic problems which are affecting the country. Today's slogan should be: working rather than chatting. The speaker emphasized the importance of respecting the accepted norms of life within the party, for the party itself, and as regards the state--the importance of observing the Constitution and the observance of laws.

The next speaker, Gen Wlodzimierz Sawczuk, member of the party Central Committee, concentrated his attention on, among other things, the need for resolute party and state counteraction to harmful phenomena affecting public law and order and the foundations of our national existence. He spoke about the activities inspired by imperialist centers hostile to Poland which would like to undermine the unbreakable alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union, based on class and internationalist foundations, and to make an attempt at eroding the socialist community and our alliances. The speaker demanded that one should reach back to the previous party decisions adopted during the course of renewal, in which the tasks of the party and its authorities, as well as of elements at all levels, were accurately defined.

Some of the suggestions which appeared in the precongress discussion held so far were noted by Janusz Brych, Central Committee member, and head of the Social-Professional Department of the PZPR Central Committee. He stressed that in the course of preparations for the congress too little attention has been devoted to matters connected with crystallization of the program tenets. In party activities, the center of gravity must be shifted to the constructive, swift and efficient solution of all kinds of problems and to finding effective ways for overcoming difficulties. In this way, party organizations and the party as a whole will be able to provide the best proof of their operational efficiency. The speaker also drew attention to the fact that there was no question, and cannot be anymore, of returning to the old days; at the same time, it happens on occasions that not everyone is fully aware of the meaning of acting in the new manner. The consolidation of party forces is indispensible, above all for the purpose of guaranteeing full implementation of the process of socialist renewal, a process which, unfortunately, is in danger.

The need for adopting effective action, including action on medium-term measures, was also pointed out by the next speaker, Janusz Prokopiak, member of the PZPR Central Committee. The speaker dealt with the noneffectiveness of many of the activities undertaken by the party to date. Today's Plenum should adopt decisions which will lead to a turning point in the development of the situation. Today we must defend the party and socialism. Against the background of the present problems, the speaker indicated the need for a more mature participation of the mass information media in consolidation of party strength. The speaker also supported the thesis that it is necessary to bring about renegotiation of the social accord.

The next speaker was Andrzej Zabinski, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship party committee. Among other things, he pointed out, that within Solidarity there exist forces which have never wanted to agree with just performing the functions and role of a trade union. The speaker devoted much attention to questions pertaining to the party apparatus. He expressed definite opposition to the frequent cases of witch-hunts against members of the apparatus; people, in the overwhelming majority of cases honest, who have served the party and socialism faithfully and thoroughly. The speaker shared in the assessment made by the Politburo as regards the stance adopted on the Katowice Party Forum. At the same time, he noted the unprecedented atmosphere created in the mass information media concerning this matter and noted the absence of decisions which would have dealt with these issues on merit. Referring to economic matters, the speaker stated that the plan for coal extraction adopted by the Sejm is impossible to carry out in view, among other things, of the introduction of free Saturdays in coalmining and because of the radical decline in the supply of the basic foodstuffs to Katowice Voivodship. It is necessary to profoundly ponder the solution of these problems.

At the end of his speech, the speaker expressed the idea that without a resolute stance on the part of the party Central Committee with regard to the political, social and economic situation in the country our difficulties cannot be solved speedily and effectively.

Other speakers in the debate were: Jerzy Putrament, party Central Committee member and editor-in-chief of LITERATURA; Stanislaw Miskiewicz, party Central Committee member and first secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship party committee; Antoni Wrobel, party Central Committee member and member of the Mazowieckie refinery and petrochemical works at Plock; Kazimierz Jarzabek, party Central Committee member, first steel-teeming master at the Boleslaw Bierut foundry in Czestochowa; Prof Jozef Pajestka, party Central Committee member, director of the Institute of the Economic Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences; and Jadwiga Nowakowska, party Central Committee member and master at the clothing factory of the Lodz knitwear industry enterprise.

The debate continues.

9 June Debates Continue

LD092338 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Jerzy Putrament, PZPR Central Committee member, and editor-in-chief of LITERATURA, spoke at the session. Referring to the dramatic events in recent Polish history, he stressed the fact that the political struggle constitutes (?an indispensable) party duty. However, especially during the period of the last 10 years this duty has been relegated to the background while, at the same time, there have accumulated many erroneous theories weakening the position of the party. This has brought about a situation in which a kind of pluralism became possible in the approach to the main political tasks of the party, including combatting forces hostile to People's Poland. The speaker said that a monolithic and clearcut political line in the party constitutes a pledge of success in the political struggle. The speaker, acknowledged as particularly essential the reinforcement of the mechanisms of decisionmaking and an effective expression of these mechanisms in political action. The speaker stressed a need for tightening the links between the party leadership and party organizations, especially at large industrial enterprises.

The next speaker, Stanislaw Miskiewicz, PZPR Central Committee member and first secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship party committee, appealed for unity in the common interest and for adoption of specific decisions. In his opinion, the attitudes of mass information media should be defined unambiguously; mass information media must become a guarantee of the program of party action. It is also necessary to take up unambiguous action in favor of strengthening the militia and defining an unambiguous attitude toward horizontal structures, an attitude on the trade unions and, above all, toward Solidarity. The speaker stated that it is necessary to adopt a program of party action before the congress; there cannot be any question of postponing the congress. The speaker also said that the plenum must adopt guideline resolutions concerning the most urgent tasks of the government.

The Central Committee has of late been meeting at plenary sessions, said Antoni Wrobel, Central Committee member, member of the Central Party Control Commission, and electrician at the Mazowieckie refinery and petrochemical works in Plock, above all, depending on aggravation of the situation and the emergence of various threatening circumstances. Obviously, this does not favor elaboration of both profound assessments and clear, sensible and effective decisions. The present situation in our country, stated the speaker, causes anxiety for our friends and allies. At the same time, it emboldens the adversaries of the party, socialism and renewal. Underlining the need for creating credibility of the authorities, the speaker pointed to the factors which hinder this matter. For instance, there is the way in which the mass information media have presented the events in Bydgoszcz. The dramatic impasse in which the country and the party have found themselves requires adoption of decisions which will serve reversal of the course of events.

The speaker devoted much attention to matters concerning preparations for the Ninth PZPR Congress and indicated the necessity of the party proving in this period that it is capable of overcoming this crisis.

The next speaker, Kazimierz Jarzabek, party Central Committee member and first steel-teeming master of the Boleslaw Bierut foundry in Czestochowa, presented the views and expectations of his comrades in the party's organization of the Boleslaw Bierut foundry concerning the current plenum. The speaker drew attention to the fact that we are trying to cope with an enormous packet of demands which, in the present situation, are impossible to meet. The basic task of the party leadership is the authentication of its intentions by all possible means. Among other things, it is necessary to decide, as soon as possible, the membership of the Central Committee and of those persons who in effect no longer have the mandate for this membership.

Prof Jozef Pajestka, party Central Committee member and director of the Institute of Economic Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, concentrated his speech on problems that are social and socioeconomic in nature. Answering the question of why the present crisis has been lasting so long, he pointed out that the decline in national revenue has put our country's development back by 5 years and that we have been paralyzed by the interplay of pressure groups. This is a very difficult situation and its solution is not entirely in our hands. An example of this can be found in the problem of the indebtedness of our national economy, and at the same time, the necessity for ensuring the supply of raw and other materials required by the national economy. The speaker expressed the view that in the mood of helplessness which dominates at present it is extremely difficult to work out a good program for overcoming the crisis. Prof Jozef Pajestka expressed his support for reform of prices with simultaneous compensation for those population groups which have the lowest incomes. He also supported a political contract between the party and the trade unions, including Solidarity, based on partnership and on our social-political system. The best way to consolidation of party strength lies in its leading role in modernization of the social forces, in the most expected [word indistinct] spheres.

Debates Continue

LD100006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Report on 9 June PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Party Central Committee member, master in the sewing workroom of the Lodz knitwear industry Femina plant, Jadwiga Nowakowska, spoke on the progress of the report-back and election campaign in the Lodz region. She regarded as very positive the fact that more than 70 percent new comrades have been elected to the authorities in the primary organization in this urban voivodship. They are people enjoying prestige and respect in their area. Jadwiga Nowakowska stated with profound conviction that the party was strong enough to resolve the serious conflicts of the country through political means, through its own actions. She stressed the importance of restoring trust in the party and consideration of it as a leading force. She expressed the view that at the present plenum it was necessary to concentrate on preparations for the congress, which must be good, held on the planned date and meet the expectations of the party and the entire community.

The next speakers were: party Central Committee member, TRYBUNA LUDU commentator Ryszard Wojna; PZPR Central Committee member, casting worker in the Zawiercie iron and steel works Boleslaw Kowalczyk; Central Auditing Commission member and shift mine foreman in the Belchatow hard coal colliery Jozef Flaga; PZPR Central Committee member, adjuster in the Hipolit Cegielski locomotive and wagon factory in Poznan Stanislaw Zielinski; Central Committee candidate member, Minister of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy Ryszard Sarski; and PZPR Central Committee member, Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union Kazimierz Olszewski.

We will acquaint you with their speeches in the next editions of our news. In all, 18 speakers took the floor today.

Further on 9 Jun Debates

LD100200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Report on 9 June PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Excerpts] In the first day of the session of the 11th plenum of the party Central Committee a discussion took place on the Politburo report delivered by the first secretary of the Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania. Ryszard Wojna, Central Committee member and TRYBUNA LUDU commentator, stressed the close link that exists between Poland's independence and socialism and said that this formula is particularly clear now. Maintaining close links with the nation and rebuilding its trustworthiness in the community are fundamental party tasks. Ryszard Wojna also pointed out that the introduction of discipline into the party situation should be implemented in close association with the affirmation of renewal and with bringing back the functioning of the community's life. The speaker saw the observance of democratic centralism as particularly important in intraparty life. He also spoke of the fundamental importance of Polish-Soviet relations and the alliance and fraternal friendship linking our parties, states and nations.

Boleslaw Kowalczyk, the first steel-teeming master at the Zawiercie steel plant, took the floor next. The speaker stated that the decisions and resolutions of the Central Committee were not always received favorably or met with suitable response. At present, concrete decisions of the party leadership, the Politburo and the Central Committee are expected more than anything else. Actions which would give direction and revive the activities of party organizations are expected. In turn, the leadership expects support from their echelons. The speaker proposed that permanent control of the implementation of the resolutions adopted at former plena be the practice of plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

Jozef Flaga member of the Central Auditing Commission and shift foreman at the Belchatow lignite mine, spoke next. Referring to the vigorously discussed issue of horizontal structures, he said that democratic centralism ought to be clearly obligatory for everyone because this is the most important principle of the functioning of the party. In is view, those report-back and electoral conference which were held in a spirit that did not keep with the statute--and at which the principles of democratic centralism were broken--are not valid. Jozef Flaga also expressed the view that the party ought to restore its control over the PZPR press quickly and effectively.

The next participant in the discussion was Stanislaw Zielinski, member of the Central Committee and a toolsetter at the Cegielski locomotive and wagon factory. He pointed out the need to remind the community and to be aware of the achievements of People's Poland over the past 36 years. At present such very advanced criticism of everything in the past has become the habit that we have forgotten the historic work of rebuilding the country after the war and Hitler's occupation. The speaker made an appeal for intraparty information and for making it more efficient. He also emphasized the need to establish a program of party activities during the period before the ninth congress.

Ryszard Karski, Central Committee candidate member and minister of foreign trade and maritime economy, referred to the historic importance of the Polish-Soviet alliance and to the strong position of our country in the fraternal socialist community. Speaking of the worsening economic situation of Poland, Ryszard Karski stated that a particularly strong aggressiveness and decisiveness is essential in economic activities. Whereas many economic cells are seized by a peculiar paralysis, the minister said that it is necessary to do everything to start working more effectively for economic equilibrium and the activization of economics. Ryszard Karski discussed the significance of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. He recalled that the Soviet Union gave us selfless assistance, making additional purchases possible.

The last speaker was Kazimierz Olszewski, member of the Central Committee and Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union.

He pointed out the fact that most of the decisions made so far concerning the difficult situation, particularly those concerning the economy, have not been implemented. He devoted a great deal of time to Polish-Soviet relations, pointing out the consequences for not carrying out export duties, both towards the Soviet Union and towards other countries. The resolution of the present plenum ought to emphasize in a clear and fundamental way the highest and most important tasks for the party and for all its members.

The 11th plenum will continue its session tomorrow. A continuation of the discussion is planned.

PAP Summarizes 9 Jun Speeches

LD101006 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (PAP)--Opening up the discussion at the 11th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, Zygmunt Najdowski, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PUWP Torun Voivodship committee, said that there is the danger that the Polish communists might not be able to lead the country out of the crisis. The meeting should consider revising the hitherto formula of overcoming the crisis by peaceful means and by ourselves. The new formula should be that at all cost the crisis must be overcome by our own means. All the more so as the hitherto formula of solving problems by political means often meant backing down and concessions, sometimes made for the sake of peace. He proposed that changes be made in the Political Bureau to ensure that its members are capable of directing the party in action and struggle.

General Wldozimierz Sawczuk, member of the Central Committee, said that increasing signs of open counterrevolution in the country evoke understandable anxiety of our friends. A successive proof of the brotherly concern for the fate of the country is the letter of the CPSU Central Committee. Opinions similar to those contained in the letter were often expressed by Central Committee members from the rostrum of the plenary Central Committee sessions, beginning with the 6th plenum.

Janusz Brych, member of the Central Committee and head of the CC Socio-Professional Department, said that further interference by certain Solidarity members in the party's internal affairs cannot be allowed. Equally, the creation on the basis of Solidarity and political parties seeking to split the working class cannot be tolerated.

The party should put conditions to Solidarity leadership. The further recognition of that union as a representative of the interests of the working people in Poland will depend on the fulfilment of these conditions. Worth considering is the proposal that the Supreme Court should examine the Solidarity activity to establish whether it agrees with the union's statute.

Stanislaw Miskiewicz, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PUWP Szczecin Voivodship committee, proposed that the present plenum take concrete decisions. The plenum should define its standpoint regarding the mass media which must promote our action programme. The plenum must also take unequivocal decisions to strengthen the arm of the militia and the army. We must come up with an unambiguous standpoint towards the horizontal structures in PUWP organizations, as well as towards the trade unions and Solidarity in particular. A programme of party action must be devised in preparation for the congress which must not be postponed. He said that he expected the Political Bureau to come up with a more firm, unambiguous standpoint regarding certain matters. But the plenary meeting will surely formulate such a stance.

Ryszard Labus, alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PUWP Grozow Wielkopolski Voivodship committee, said he was deeply convinced that the 11th plenum should be the turning point in the party activity. This is because the situation inside the country is very bad and we must find a solution ourselves. Our approach to the political demands of the Solidarity right-wing was too soft. The Soviet comrades are right in saying that we have been making concession after concession.

The need is for the government to guarantee by all means at its disposal that the Constitution and law are observed. Radical measures which have to be taken must not be synonymous with the operation of armed law-enforcement organs.

Jerzy Putrament, member of the Central Committee, a writer, said that over the past 10 years the party has neglected one of its fundamental duties--the political struggle. Also now the Polish United Workers' Party appears to be incapable of formulating a uniform political line. In the Political Bureau there is no connection between decisions and their being transformed into concrete political action. At least a partial change of the Political Bureau is necessary. In its present composition it has failed to meet the expectations of the party and produced no operative decisions.

Janusz Prokopiak, CC member, said that he agreed with the letter of the CPSU Central Committee, but is it precisely the Soviet comrades who should open our eyes to what was going on? He proposed that in a secret ballot the plenary meeting of the Central Committee should express its attitude towards the entire leadership. He hopes that as a result at least part of the party leadership will be changed. This new leadership should be committed to carry out, within the next 10-14 days, a full evaluation of the political situation in the party and the state. The conclusions from that evaluation should be presented to a speedily convened 12th plenary meeting of the Central Committee. Conditions must be created to ensure that the party takes over the initiative, otherwise catastrophe will ensue.

Stanislaw Zielinski, member of the Central Committee, a boiler setter at the Cigielski locomotive and railway cars factory in Poznan, said that the Central Committee has not yet been acquainted with the contents of talks which the Polish delegation held during the 26th CPSU Congress. The standpoint of the Political Bureau towards the contents of the Katowice Forum is unknown. The standpoint represented by that forum has not been condemned by the party leadership.

He said that he supports and accepts the letter of the CPSU Central Committee, but deplores the fact that the Soviet comrades should have called our attention to certain matters. Many problems raised in that letter were discussed earlier but no decisions were made. He supports the proposal that a new Political Bureau should be elected capable of properly conducting preparations for the congress to prevent the loss of the remnants of party activeness.

Andrezej Zabinski, member of the CC Political Bureau and first secretary of the PUWP Katowice Voivodship committee, said that if a communist party betrays such serious lack of the instinct of self-preservation, if it is unable to shake free from lethargy in the face of such open and tangible threat, there is no wonder that it is getting bogged down deeper and deeper on a path leading to nowhere or, rather, to a national tragedy.

Our weakness, indecision and constant retreat only served to embolden our opponents, brought about proliferation of open demands and public declaration of successive stages in the takeover of power.

All those who demand revision of the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences in the hope to lead Poland out of the camp of the socialist states should be reminded that all attempts of this kind would upset the balance of forces in the world.

Plenum Resumes Work 10 June

LD100812 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] The 11th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee resumed its debate at 0900. The discussion continues on the Politburo report: "The Current Situation in the Country and Preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress."

The first to take the floor was deputy Premier Mieczyslao Rakowski, member of the Central Committee.

Rakowski's Address Reported

LD100958 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] The 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum resumed its debate at 0900. The discussion continues on the Politburo report: The Current Situation in the Country and Preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

The first to speak in the second day of the debate, Miecyslaw Rakowski, deputy premier and member of the Central Committee, stressed yet again the depth of the social, political and economic crisis experienced by the party and the country, and the accompanying awareness of the ineffectiveness of the methods applied for its overcoming.

Here are the most important observations contained in his speech:

It is necessary to clearly determine the borderline between criticism of the policy of agreement, the policy of dialogue and the policy of criticism, and its implementation. It is also necessary to reflect on the efficiency of the political methods applied so far to resolve the crisis. The speaker stressed again that the sole method for the removal of tension is agreement, dialogue and political means. Other methods could end in a national drama. It is necessary to bear in mind the historic responsibility borne by the party in the past and today.

The fundamental task of the party is to struggle for the hearts and minds of the working class, and of every worker. We must realize that the consequence of the current, complex and many-faceted situation is, among other things, the diversity of views and evaluations of various issues. All the agreements so far have, for understandable reasons, met with a different evaluation in different strata of our society.

It is necessary to be able to reach the people. We must take into account the severe realities. It is also worth while to ponder more deeply on the essence of compromises and concessions, and what their limits are.

There is still not enough discussion in the party about the future, though this is understandable to a certain extent because we are absorbed by the present. The suggestions that the date of the congress should be postponed are completely unjustified.

Today, the party is going through a vast process of profound reassessments. New splendid cadres of party activists are emerging. A historic change of generations is in progress and should not be opposed.

Concluding, Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed that in the struggle now in progress, the party must gather all its forces. These must be superhuman, answer the deep needs, and live up to the crisis.

Further speeches will be broadcast in the news bulletin.

Ney, Others Give Views

LD101146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpts] As has already been reported and as the listeners know, the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum resumed its debate at 1100.

The second speaker to take the floor at the 11th Central Committee Plenum was Roman Ney, candidate member of the Politburo, and secretary of the Central Committee. He said that the 11th plenum is being held in an atmosphere of high tension.

This is due to a difficult situation for which the country nevertheless has a solution, which is conducive to the consolidation of socialism. As for the activities of the party leadership, we must have more consistency and militancy, and we must be aware that in the party ranks there is great energy, as well as confusion, abundant in initiatives.

Whether this creative energy will be fully exploited and will yield satisfactory results depends on the Central Committee, on the echelons at all levels, on the aktiv and on party members. In the example of many work establishments we see progress taking shape in the molding of party stances. It is imperative to draw the proper conclusions from constructive criticism.

The speaker pointed to the tremendous hope connected with the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. It is the duty of every party member to see that the congress is held on the date fixed and serves the party and its internationalist commitments well.

Referring to the precongress campaign now in progress in the party, the speaker stated that it is necessary to observe the principle that discussion and the intensification and greater credibility of political activity are indispensable for ideological unity [words indistinct] and for the methods and trends of party work.

It is very important to emphasize the fact that for Poland there has not been, there is not and there will not be any other way than close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The success of the forthcoming congress depends on thorough preparation for it. Here the participation of delegates elected to the forum and to all party echelons, in particular the grassroots, is of great importance. The party must be coherent in its organization and action.

Roman Ney demanded the necessity of arranging partnership relations with Solidarity, relations which at the same time would exclude attempts to create dual power in certain situations. It is imperative to be firm as to policy, the economy and in the resolving of social problems. It is extremely important to have good will, party activeness, faith in our own strength and its use, and also prudence.

After Roman Ney, the floor was taken by Edward Pustelnik, member of the Central Committee, Senior tool distributor [word indistinct] at the Gryfia ship repair yard.

He voiced opposition to the previous plenum speakers, saying they are undermining the decisions of previous plenary sessions, including those on personnel issues and on the issue of the date of the congress. Edward Pustelnik stressed the need for consistent behavior on issues once decided on. The Central Committee, he said, should espouse the principle that every plenary session should begin with an analysis of the state of implementation of resolutions, decisions and proposals passed earlier. The party's responsibility, he also stressed, is to firmly defend its members and activists in the acute political struggle which is currently taking place. The speaker also pointed out the worrying phenomenon of the drawn-out preparation and introduction of economic reform. This is the fault of ministries and of central administrative bodies, among others. This phenomenon, for understandable reasons, is damaging to the implementation of current production tasks.

Next, at the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee, the floor was taken by Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee candidate member and construction foreman from the East Warsaw urban construction plant, Andrzej Wasilewski, Central Committee member and (?director) of the State Publishing Institute; and Jozef Nowak, first secretary of the Walbrzych Voivodship party committee.

The debate is continuing.

More on 10 June Session

LD101312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpts] The 11th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee continued its debate in Warsaw.

An essential part of the speech by Albin Siwak, a Central Committee candidate member and construction foreman at the urban construction kombinat Warsaw 3, was the question of the settling of accounts trend during the preparations for the congress. Too frequently there are instances of rash condemnation of a party worker, not for a solid reason but because he is or was a party activist. No communists, said Albin Siwak, should take advantage of the moment of weakness of the party.

Next to speak during today's debate was Andrzej Wasilewski, Central Committee member and director of PIW [State Publishing Institute]. He underlined that above all it is necessary to have double guarantees: for the community, that the party is capable of overcoming the crisis and for our allies, that we are capable of securing the interests of socialism. These guarantees, he added, are not mutually exclusive. They must constitute the basis of the program for the party activities in the near future.

The following also spoke: the first secretary of the Walbrzych Voivodship party committee, Josef Nowak; Central Committee member and first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Tarnow, Stanislaw Opaklo; Central Committee candidate member and first secretary of the party voivodship in Pozan, Jerzy Kusiak; candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Gdansk, Tadeusz Fiszbach.

ALLEGED TEXT OF CPSU LETTER TO POLISH LEADERS

LD100959 Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Jun 81 p 6

[Unattributed report giving alleged text of CPSU Central Committee letter to Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee: "The Offensive of Antisocialist Forces Threatens Our Joint Security"]

[Text] We publish below the full text of the letter sent by the CPSU Central Committee to the Polish Central Committee on 5 June 1981:

Dear comrades, the CPSU Central Committee is writing this letter to you feeling deeply concerned about the future of socialism in Poland and about Poland as a free and independent country.

Our action is dictated by the interest which we entertain as party members in the affairs of the party of Polish communists, the entire fraternal Polish nation and socialist Poland as a member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. Soviet and Polish communists fought side by side against Fascism and have been linked throughout the postwar years. Our party and the Soviet people have helped their Polish comrades to build a new life. We cannot remain unconcerned about the mortal danger which now looms over the Polish people's revolutionary achievements.

We say this openly: Certain trends in the development of the Polish People's Republic, especially in the ideological sphere and with respect to the previous leadership's economic policy, had already aroused our concern for several years.

In complete accordance with the spirit of the relations existing between the CPSU and the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR], we discussed these subjects with [Polish] leaders during talks at the highest level and at other meetings.

Unfortunately, these friendly warnings and some profoundly criticial statements made within the PZPR itself were not taken into account and were even ignored. As a result, a profound crisis has arisen in Poland which has spread to the country's entire political and economic life.

The changing of the entire PZPR leadership and efforts made to overcome some grave errors connected with the violation of the principles of building socialism with a view to restoring the confidence of the masses, above all that of the working class, in the party and strengthening socialist democracy have been fully understood by us.

Since the first days of the crisis we believed that it was a matter of importance that the party oppose in a determined manner any attempts by the enemies of socialism to take advantage of the difficulties which had appeared to further their long-term aims. However, this was not done. Continual concessions to antisocialist forces and their demands have led to a situation in which the PZPR has been falling back step by step under the pressure of internal counterrevolution, which has been supported by imperialist foreign centers of diversion.

A Criminal Plot Against People's Power

The situation has not only become dangerous but has led the country into a critical situation. It is impossible to assess it differently. The enemies of socialist Poland do not conceal their identity nor, especially, do they conceal their intentions. They are waging a struggle for power and are already in the process of achieving it. They have been gaining control of one position after another. Counterrevolution has been using Solidarity's extremist faction as a strike force. By deceiving them, it has involved workers who have joined a vocational trade union in a criminal plot against people's power. A wave of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism is developing. Imperialist forces are making increasingly bold attempts to interfere in Poland's domestic affairs.

The serious danger which looms over socialism in Poland also constitutes a threat to the very existence of an independent Polish state. If worst came to worst, if the enemies of socialism were to achieve power and if Poland ceased to enjoy protection from the socialist states, the greedy hands of imperialism would immediately be raised against it. Who would then be able to guarantee the independence, sovereignty and borders of Poland as a state? No one.

Comrades, you recall the meeting of the leaders of fraternal parties of countries belonging to the socialist community held in Moscow on 5 December 1980. On 4 March 1981, talks took place between the Soviet leadership and the PZPR delegation to the 26th CPSU Congress. On 23 April 1981, a CPSU delegation met the entire Polish leadership (LE MONDE note: This delegation was led by CPSU Politburo member and secretary Suslov). Both during these meetings and during other contacts, we expressed our growing concern about the activities of counterrevolutionary forces in Poland. We have mentioned the need to overcome confusion in the PZPR ranks, protect its cadres from enemy attacks in a determined manner and protect people's power with all party members' bodies.

In particular, attention has been drawn to the fact that the adversary has gained control over the mass information media, most of which have become the instrument of antisocialist activities and have been used to undermine socialism and break up the party. Attention has been drawn to the fact that the battle has not been won for the party as long as the press, radio and television work not for the PZPR but for its enemies .

One Position After Another Is Being Surrendered

We have strongly emphasized the need to strengthen the authority of the law and order organs and the army throughout the country and to protect them from the ambitions of counterrevolutionary forces.

Allowing attempts to slander and break up the security services, the militia and later also the army almost to succeed practically implies the socialist states's disarmament and its abandonment to the mercy of class enemies.

We wish to stress that on all the issues broached, S. Kania, W. Jaruzelski and the other Polish comrades expressed their agreement with our viewpoints. But in fact everything has remained unchanged and no modifications have been made to the policy of concessions and compromise. One position after another is being surrendered, without taking into account the documents of the latest plenums, which note a counterrevolutionary threat. Hitherto no measures have been taken in practice to counter it, and the organizers of the counterrevolution are not directly named.

Recently the situation within the PZPR itself has become a cause of particular concern. There is not much more than a month left before the congress. Nevertheless, it 's increasingly the forces hostile to socialism that are setting the tone of the election campaign. It is not unusual for individuals chosen at random and openly preaching opportunist viewpoints to enter the leaderships of local party organizations and to be among the delegates to conferences and congresses. This cannot fail to prompt concern. As a result of the many manipulations of revisionists and opportunists—enemies of the PZPR--experienced activists entirely devoted to the party and with irreproachable reputations and morals are being passed over.

The fact that the elected delegates to the imminent congress include only a very small number of communists originating from the workers environment is also deeply distrubing. The course of preparations for the congress is being complicated by the so-called "horizontal structures" movement, which is the tool for dismantling the party being used by the opportunists to promote at the congress the people indispensable to them and to guide its proceedings in the direction favorable to them.

One cannot rule out the possibility that during the congress itself an attempt will be made to deal a decisive blow to the Marxist-Leninist forces in order to bring about its elimination.

All Kinds of Anti-Sovietism

We would like to say in particular that in recent months the counterrevolutionary forces have been actively spreading anti-Sovietism of all kinds with a view to eliminating all the results of both our parties' activities and reviving nationalist and anti-Soviet feelings in various sectors of Polish society. These slanderers and liars stop at nothing. They claim that the Soviet Union is allegedly "plundering Poland," and they say this without taking into account the fact that the Soviet Union has given and is still giving vast extra material assistance during this difficult period. This is said of a country which, though its consignments of oil, gas, ore, and cotton at prices 1.5-2 times lower than world prices, is in effect supplying the principal branches of Polish industry.

Respected comrades, in addressing you via this letter we have in mind not only our anxiety at the situation in sister Poland and at the conditions and future prospects of Soviet-Polish cooperation. Like the fraternal parties, we are no less concerned at the fact that the offensive of the antisocialist forces, the enemies of the Polish People's Republic, is threatening the interests of our entire community, its cohesion, its integrity and the security of its borders--yes, our joint security.

Imperialist reaction is supporting and stimulating the Polish counterrevolution and does not conceal its hopes of changing the European and world balance of forces in its favor in this way. Imperialism is actively using the Polish crisis with a view to slandering the economic system, ideas and principles of socialism. It is being used for new attacks on the international communist movement.

Therefore the PZPR not only bears a historic responsibility for its country's future, its independence and progress and for the cause of socialism in Poland; a huge responsibility for the shared interests of the socialist community also rests on you, comrades.

Mobilizing All Healthy Forces

We consider that there is still a possibility of avoiding the worst and averting a national disaster. Within the PZPR there are many honest and resolute communists, ready to fight actively for the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and for an independent Poland. In Poland there are many people devoted to the cause of socialism. The working class, the working people--even some of those drawn by deception into the enemies' intrigues--will, when all is said and done, follow the party.

It is now a matter of mobilizing all society's healthy forces with a view to countering the class enemy and combating counterrevolution. This demands first and foremost a revolutionary will from the party, its members and its leadership--yes, its leadership. Time does not wait. The party can and should find within itself the forces to reverse the course of events and to restore them to the right path even before the congress.

We would like to be sure that the Central Committee of sister Poland's Communist Party will be equal to its historic responsibilities!

We would like to assure you, dear comrades, that during these difficult days, as always in the past, the CPSU Central Committee, all Soviet communists and the entire Soviet people are in solidarity with your struggle. Our viewpoint was clearly expressed in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's statement to the 26th CPSU Congress: "We will not permit any attack on socialist Poland and will not abandon a fraternal country in misfortune."

SOLIDARITY STATEMENT ON ENDING STRIKE ACTION

LD091252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Statement of working group of National Consultative Commission NSZZ Solidarity following government-solidarity talks at Council of Ministers, issued in Warsaw on 8 June]

[Text] In connection with the need to preserve social peace and search for a constructive solution to the Bydgoszcz affair, the working group of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity has decided, after talks with the government commission at the office of the Council of Ministers on 8 June this year, to approach the Sejm extraordinary commission for supervising the implementation of the social accords to adopt a stance on the implementation to date of point one of the Warsaw agreement of 30 March this year and on the standpoint adopted by the KKP NSZZ Solidarity on 7 April this year, which was conveyed during the talks to Deputy Jan Szczepanski, the chairman of the extraordinary commission, in the form of an appendix to this statement.

Deputy Jan Szczepanski, aware of the urgent need to resolve the problem under discussion, undertook on behalf of the commission to adopt a stance and also to submit to the authorities proposed solutions by 3 July this year. Referring to the trust shown in the commission, Deputy Jan Szczepanski appealed to the working group of the KKP to suspend strike action until then.

The working group undertakes to convey the appeal to the relevant Interfactory Founding Committees and expresses confidence that it will be received with understanding, also in view of the appeal of the Main Council of Poland's Episcopate which met in Rome on 5 June this year. The above commitments were made in the presence of representatives of the episcopate.

[Signed] Deputy Jan Szczepanski, chairman of the Sejm extraordinary commission, and Krzysztof Gotowski, chairman of the working group of KKP NSZZ Solidarity.

KKP PRESIDIUM MEETS IN GDANSK TO DISCUSS BYDGOSZCZ

Strikes Still Option

LD092134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The Presidium of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity met today, with the participation of Lech Walesa, at the headquarters of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee. The KKP Presidium, taking into consideration the general situation in Poland and also the appeal by the Polish Episcopate to maintain a period of calm and reflection after the death of the primate, appealed to the workforces to refrain from taking strike actions. However, if the Bydgoszcz issue is not definitively cleared up by 3 July the KKP will consider taking appropriate protest actions.

Warning Strike Discussed

LD100954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] A meeting of the Interfactory Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity is in progress in Bydgoszcz. The issue of the 2-hour warning strike scheduled for 11 June is under discussion. Some members of the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission are taking part in the meeting. Let us recall that the warning strike is to take place in four voivodships: Bydgoszcz, Plock, Torun and Wloclawek.

POPE JOHN PAUL II SENDS MESSAGE TO LECH WALESA

LD091654 Warsaw PAP in English 1406 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (PAP)--Pope John Paul II has sent a message to Lech Walesa, head of the National Consultative Committee of Solidarity, the Catholic daily SLOWO POWSZECHNE reported.

The pope thanked for the messages [as received] he had received after the attempt on his life in Rome on May 13 from the National Consultative Committee, the Gdansk Solidarity branch, and Lech Walesa.

The pope said he was praying "for the work of renewal that started in the beloved country in the spirit of responsibility and care for the shared weal and every man to bring abundant fruit."

SOLIDARITY ELECTS REGIONAL BOARD IN SZCZECIN

LD091959 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The 4-day general assembly of delegates of the Pomorze Zachodnie region of NSZZ Solidarity has ended in Szczecin. The most important problems of the new union, its achievements and problems in activity in the region were discussed. Marian Jurczyk was elected chairman of the regional main board. During the meeting, many views were presented on the future tasks of the union and its organizational structure. There were also many statements marked by concern for the country's future. The danger to the union posed by organizational inefficiency of some union cells and also in the attempts to make a political organization out of the union was discussed.

MINING MINISTER ATTENDS MEETING IN KATOWICE

LD092107 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] A session of the mixed commission for the implementation of the Jastrzebie agreement has been held in Katowice. The deliberations, which were chaired by Minister of Mining Mieczyslaw Glanowski, were attended by advisers of the National Coordinating Commission of the mining section of NSZZ Solidarity and of the Ministry of Mining. The meeting examined many issues vital to miners in the document signed in Jastrzebie.

RURAL SOLIDARITY DELEGATION IN ROME FOR CONGRESS

AU091954 Rome ANSA in English 1945 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Rome, 9 Jun (ANSA)--A delegation from Rural Solidarity, the independent Polish union representing agricultural workers and farmers, flew in her today for the congress of Italy's Unione Dei Lavoratori Italiani (UIL) labor central.

The majority of UIL's membership is social democrat in tendency. Together with the Christian Democrat-inspired CISL [Italian Confederation of Workers Unions] and the communist-socialist-led CGIL, [Italian General Confederation of Labor], it forms part of Italy's unitary labor federation.

Rural Solidarity was the last of Poland's independent trade unions to receive official recognition. But, at the UIL congress, it will be the first to line up in a Western assembly with labor delegations from Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. This point was underscored by a UIL official meeting the Polish delegation at Rome's Fiumicino International Airport.

During the same ceremony, delegation leader Jan Kulaj told reporters that the situation in Poland "is certainly not among the best" after Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's recent warning to the Polish leaders. "But, after the decision to suspend the general strike planned for June 11, we think we are on the right path and we are hoping for the best," he added.

On Thursday, the delegation will probably be received in private audience at the Vatican City by Pope John Paul II, who last January hand two meetings with Lech Walesa when the latter was visiting Italy.

COURT REGISTERS NEW CATEGORY OF TRADE UNIONS

LD092000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The voivodship court in Warsaw today registered two new trade union organizations: the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions and the NSZZ of Private Craftmen Solidarity. Both these unions set a precedent since for the first time legal status has been obtained by an interunion organization and a trade union of employers. The Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions at present consists of more than 30 trade unions, of which 23 organizations have already signed the confederation's charter.

AUGUST AGREEMENTS CALLED SOLE SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS

LD100046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] The Consultative Committee of Creative and Scientific Associations has issued a statement connected with our country's situation in and the way it is reflected in foreign mass media.

Among other things, the statement says that the road mapped out by the August agreements is the sole chance for solving the problems of our society. We understand this to be the solving of all conflicts through dialogue and the unification of all forces which cherish the good of the country, the statement reads.

Caution and prudence--proof of which has been given and is being given by the public in the difficult conditions which we are experiencing--testify to maturity, social discipline and dignity. The authors of the statement say that the social agreement does not weaken but, on the contrary, forms the prospect both for guaranteeing the strengthening of state structures and for organizational and economic efficiency. Only a state which enjoys social confidence and which is just and law-abiding can fulfill the role which stems from our place in Europe and from our international commitments.

The Consultative Committee of Creative and Scientific Associations has 36 organizations under its roof, including the Polish Historical Society, Writers' Club, the Union of Polish Writers and the Association of Polish Journalists.

KATOWICE PARTY FORUM ISSUES STATEMENT ON MEETINGS

AU101010 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jun 81 p 4

["Communique" issued by the Program Council of the Katowice Party Forum--place and date not given--quotes as published]

[Text] The TRYBUNA LUDU editorial board received the following Telex:

In connection with the evaluation of the documents and activities of the Katowice Party Forum--the evaluation was adopted by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo at its 2 June session--the "forum" Program Council informs all participants that, observing the basic principles of democratic centralism, the general meetings of the Katowice Party Forum will not be held until the Politburo takes an unequivocal stand on the "forum's" further activities (a letter requesting such a stand has been dispatched to the PZPR Central Committee Politburo.

This information was signed on behalf of the Program Council by its secretary, Stefan Owczarz.

TWO REPORT-BACK CONFERENCES CRITICIZE AUTHORITIES

LD091322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Urban report-back and election conference of the party took place yesterday in Kalisz, Biala Podlaska and Glucholazy.

In Biala Podlaska the urban conference has critically evaluated the activities of the voivodship authorities, which were accused of errors and abuses. Jaroslaw Bogucki was entrusted with the post of first secretary.

The conference in Glucholazy criticized the report submitted by the outgoing authorities for having virtually left out all key problems connected with the socialist renewal. Since this conference completes the Opole Voivodship campaign at the urban-parish level, I am asking our Opole correspondent Piotr Sulewski to sum up the campaign.

[Begin recording] In nearly half of the organizations new first secretaries were elected. In six, contrary to the statute, delegates were elected to the ninth congress. Members of these organizations took the view that since work establishments have the right to elect, a similar right should apply to parish and urban-parish organizations. A decision on this matter will be adopted by the voivodship conference which, according to the statute, is allowed to elect 46 delegates to the congress. [end recording]

PIOTRKOW TRYBUNALSKI ELECTS NEW FIRST SECRETARY

LD091420 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The municipal report-back and election conference in Piotrkow Trybunalski has ended. This was the last and the longest--all of 25 hours--municipal party conference in the Piotrkow Voivodship.

In addition to party issues and problems pertaining to the socioeconomic crisis in the country, the conference dedicated most of its time to living conditions in the town, and in particular to the negligence in the health service in education. The conference has elected a 65-man municipal party committee and 76 delegates for the voivodship conference. Six of the latter have been recommended for the post of delegates to the ninth extraordinary party congress.

In a secret ballot, the delegates chose from two candidates for the post of first secretary of the municipal party committee in Piotrkow. He is Henryk Komar, social secretary of the party works committee at the (Piomet) mining machines factory and a teacher in the technical college for the building and repair of construction machines in Piotrkow Trybunalski.

SPECIAL COMMISSION HEARS SZYDLAK EXPLANATIONS

LD091344 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Jun (PAP)--At its fifth successive session held here today, the special commission appointed by the 10th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, headed by Political Bureau member and secretary of the Central Committee Tadeusz Grabski, heard explanations given by Jan Szydlak, former Political Bureau member and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, regarding his share of responsibility for the policy prusued by the former leadership which he helped to shape and implement, a policy which lies at the root of the present social, political and economic crisis in Poland

Szydlak declared that the party programme approved at the 6th PUWP congress was correct and capable of creating conditions for steady social progress and development of socialist democracy, but deviation from that line has produced profound adverse effects.

Szydlak maintains that the programme of accelerated development of the country was indispensable for the creation of new jobs for the younger generation, the ending of the period of economic stagnation and modernization of the country's production potential. This also entailed selective and efficient management, but the problem was that for the most part that management was spontaneous and, as a result, development proportions between the economic sectors and branches were upset.

Szydlak admitted as his serious error the fact that as secretary of the Central Committee he failed to create effective methods of party control over the administration. This led to violation of the law of equal and proportional development of the economy.

A wrong assessment of the world market situation as early as 1974 is responsible for the fact that more Western credits were drawn making the Polish economy increasingly dependent on raw material imports from the capitalist countries. The first national party conference, basing on that wrong assessment of the situation, decided to go ahead with investment. A later economic manoeuvre was unable to reverse the effects of that erroneous decision. Also incorrect was the evaluation of the country's socio-political situation in 1976, both before and after the price increase. Szydlak defined as totally wrong the assessment of the events in Ursus and Radom which attributed them to economic problems whereas, as it turned out later, it marked the beginning of the socio-political crisis. Szydlak admitted that he shares responsibility as member of the Political Breau and, from 1975, as vice-premier, for the country's present situation.

'FAR-REACHING CHANGES' IN PZPR AUTHORITIES NOTED

LD092154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The party voivodship committees have met today at plenary sessions in Koszalin and Przemysl. The Koszalin session was devoted to preparations for the voivodship report-back and election conference to take place in mid-June. The progress of the report-back and election campaign in local party cells was also discussed.

The participants in the Przemysl plenum approved today materials for the party voivodship conference to take place 25 June. The report-back materials consist of a review of the party voivodship committee's activities not only in the period of the term of office now ending but also in the period of the Przemysl Voivodship's 6-year existence.

TRYBUNA LUDU WARNS AGAINST EXTREMES IN PARTY

LD091655 Warsaw PAP in English 1426 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (PAP)--TRUBUNA LUDU printed one more commentary on the so-called Katowice Forum terming its views as orthodox and factionary, both as concerns the shape they expect the PUWP and the socialist state to have.

The forum which assemblies about 100 people from the Katowice Voivodship held two meetings so far but suspended further meetings "until the Political Bureau takes an unequivocal stand on the its activity", as the forum stated lately. This informal group was created with the knowledge of the VC [Voivodship Committee] but the VC did not inspire the forum nor take any part in its activities.

The forum's declarations triggered a wave of condemnation by numerous large PUWP organizations throughout Poland. "These PUWP resolutions also include some which, clearly and legally, dissociate themselves from the views represented by the Katowice Forum. But there are also resolutions--quite a lot, in fact--which openly accuse the Katowice group of voicing opinions and harbouring intentions which seem not to be there.

"One thing is, however, clear for anyone who is even slightly up-to-date with the rules of political warfare: Extremes tend to spur each other on. The hullaballoo round the Katowice Forum can give only one result: it can strengthen the opposite extreme. And I do not want to suspect that this is the ultimate aim," wrote the article's author, Anna Pawlowska.

The basic condition for the ideological and national identity of socialism in Poland is the protection and salvation of endangered unity in the party, despite and above all the differences of opinions existing within the PUWP. In the name of this cause, extremes have to be fought down--by debate. Not by dividing them into better and worse, justified and unjustified, geographically right or geographically wrong. All such divisions work for one or the other extreme--and against party unity, said TRYBUNA LUDU.

PZPR PROGRAMMATIC ASSUMPTIONS ON EDUCATION VIEWED

LD091820 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (PAP)--A party discussion on programmatic assumptions for the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP is underway all over the country. One of the points of the assumptions deals with the question of education. It says in this respect that:

The creation of equal start and intellectual development for all children is one of the basic requirements of social justice. School should constitute a significant link in that process.

The goal of the PUWP is to create an access to secondary education to all young people. The planned reform of education was meant to serve that aim. Yet, it was criticized by the society. Nor did the existing base provide sufficient conditions for the reform to be carried out effectively. In that situation, a structural reform basing the school system on a ten-year-compulsory school should be abandoned while a reform of a school programme should be continued instead.

Schools should be open to all-social issues. Simultaneously, there exists a necessity to protect children and young people against making them tools of immediate political interests. The secular character of school should be upheld as realization of the principle of separation of church from the state and a guarantee of the freedom to choose a world outlook by young people themselves.

SEJM COMMISSIONS DISCUSS DRAFT CENSORSHIP BILL

LD092010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The draft bill on censorship was discussed today at the joint meeting of the Sejm Commission on Home Affairs and Administration of Justice and the Sejm Commission on Legislative Work; the meeting was also attended by representatives of the Commission on Culture and Art. After the meeting our parliamentary correspondent Stanislaw Skotnicki talked with Deputy Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki, chairman of the subcommission set up for the purpose of drawing up the relevant draft bill.

[Begin recording] [Question] Is it true that discussion has again been postponed although in the morning it seemed that at long last the two commissions, with the participation of representatives of the Commission on Culture and Art, would arrive at some conclusion and endorse the draft bill?

[Answer] Well, it must be realized that the discussion on the subject of [word indistinct] censorship law is naturally neither simple nor easy. In my opinion, the range of subjects that has emerged in this connection has been justified and serves the purpose and the needs of the projects. It is better to have a debate now before the draft bill is adopted than to have new problems and complications come to the surface after the adoption of the bill. Nevertheless, work is progressing and I think that one more meeting, which has been planned for 16 June, will bring about the completion of the work on the draft bill.

[Question] And then the draft bill will be sent?

[Answer] Yes, the draft bill will then return for a second reading at a plenary session of the Sejm and the relevant decisions will be taken in the course of voting.

[Question] Could you briefly tell us which points of the draft bill arouse the greatest controversy?

[Answer] Well, there have been a great many such points. But, anyway, there was a problem as to how much will be excluded from the censor's control. This concerns, in particular, bulletins containing information and opinions. This is one of the subjects which so far has not been resolved and which has led to a great deal of discussion at the session of the two commissions.

[Question] You refer to bulletins issued by trade unions?

[Answer] Indeed, I have in mind bulletins issued by trade unions. Another matter which has aroused many doubts has been the imprecision of the definition of the following phrases: to aim against and to incite against the constitutional system of the Polish People's Republic. These phrases are either too narrow or too wide [as heard] and are rather extremist. We are seeking a formula halfway between the two [as heard] which will reflect the essence of the problem in a more precise manner.

[Question] Is it at all feasible to establish with precision all that might happen with regard to the relations between censorship and society?

[Answer] We can certainly decide things on the basis of the optimum aspect rather than the maximum aspect of the method employed. Consequently we are seeking the most fortunate solutions. This does not at all mean that we can solve all problems faultlessly, because this exceeds the capacity of human beings, and this assumption must be made at the very start. [end recording]

GOVERNMENT DECISION ON SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION

LD092032 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The government press spokesman reports that following consultation with the Commission for Economic Reform the government has adopted a decision concerning the development of small-scale production. The decision comes into effect on 1 July and embraces the whole sphere of small-scale production. The solutions adopted in the new decision are progressive and in accordance with the assumptions of the planned economic reform. The general principle of the bill is independence, self-government and the self-financing of small-scale production units. They are granted considerable powers especially in the area of establishing prices, of conducting investment activity and foreign trade. The decision creates for small-scale production units greater opportunities for taking advantage of raw material and other supplies.

Today a conference on the elaboration in June of executive regulations for the decision, chaired by Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, took place with the participation of the ministers involved and also cooperative agency chairmen.

CHURCH-STATE COMMISSION SENDS BARCIKOWSKI MESSAGE

LD092250 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1815 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Summary from poor reception] Members of the church side in the joint commission [for church-state cooperation] conveyed to Kazimierz Barcikowski, cochairman of the joint commission, the following appeal to the state authorities:

The members of the church side of the joint commission, at the moment when the main council of the episcopate is sending to the community the papal call for 30 days' mourning, calm and reflection [words indistinct] deceased primate of Poland, direct an appeal to the state authorities to encourage the existence of conditions favorable to national meditation by the satisfactory (?maintenance) of the agreed social contract.

[Signed] Cardinal Macharski, [bishops names indistinct]

MILEWSKI MARKS BORDER PROTECTION TROOPS OBSERVANCE

LD091752 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] For 36 years, the Border Protection Troops [WOP], created from units of the First and Second Polish Armies on 10 June 1945, have guarded Poland's borders. Since then, this day has been celebrated as WOP day.

On this occasion, on the eve of the anniversary, the minister of internal affairs, Lt Gen Miroslaw Milewski, issued an order of the day. The border protection troops, the order reads, taking over the duties of their frontline comrades in arms, have been fulfilling their duty to the fatherland with honor and dignity.

Also today, in the complex social and political situation of the country, the WOP, in close cooperation with all units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the units of the Ministry of National Defense and also in close contact with other nations' border troops, are performing a significant role in the state defense system.

The minister conveyed to the WOP soldiers wishes for further achievements in the strengthening of the security of the borders of the fatherland and in the shaping of the ideologically committed and politically responsible attitudes of the soldiers and in making permanent the moral cohesion and discipline which ensure the implementation of the process of renewal and the effective defense of the fundamental principles of the socialist system in Poland.

He also wished them further successes in sociopolitical activity among the border population and in development of cooperation and brotherhood in arms with the soldiers protecting the borders of the neighboring countries.

SZCZECIN PRISONERS CONTINUE PROTEST ACTION

LD091400 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The protest action of persons temporarily detained or imprisoned in investigative custody in Szczecin is continuing. They are refusing meals and are demanding changes in the penal law and an alleviation of the policy of temporary arrests, as well as changes in some prison regulations.

POPE'S MESSAGE THANKS FAITHFUL FOR GOOD WISHES

LD071016 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] Several hundred bishops and representatives of the episcopates in various countries have gathered in Rome today. This morning they will jointly celebrate a holy mass in the papal Basilica of St Peter. This afternoon they will meet in the larger basilica of the mother of God where the holy father, probably speaking by radio, will entrust the church and the world to the mother of God. We join in spirit in these festivities in Rome.

A great number of telegrams carrying wishes for a speedy return to health and birthday greetings have reached the Holy Father John Paul II from our country. In reply the holy father has sent the following thanks:

I wish to convey warm gratitude to the cardinal and vice chairman of the Episcopate Conference of Poland for the telegram sent to me, on the authorization of the primate, by Bishop Dabrowski, secretary of the Episcopate, on behalf of the bishops, clergy and faithful in Poland and for the greetings marking my birthday. Our Lord wishes to give all of you the love which you bestow on me and I thank you for the greetings, for the cordial words of spiritual closeness and for the prayers which are conveyed to God with such ardor and love for the church and in my intention. What can I return to the Lord for everything that he has done for me? I shall raise the chalice of redemption and invoke the name of the Lord. Thus I invoke the name of the Lord for the church to which I am indebted in a particular way to which I shall never stop being grateful. I invoke this name for the fatherland and for all my compatriots. I entrust with God the soul of the deceased primate and, particularly at this moment of mourning and sadness, I give the church and nation to the mother of Jasna Gora. She blesses your hearts.

[Signed] John Paul II, pope.

POLISH PRESS NOTES ADVANTAGES OF TRADE WITH USSR

LD052300 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Jun 81

["The Rank of Cooperation Between Partners"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun (PAP)--The Polish press has recently paid a particularly great deal of attention to the problems of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation and the prospects for its development. TRYBUNA LUDU, ZYCIE WARSZAWY and GLOS PRACY comment extensively on the 23d session of the Polish-Soviet intergovernmental commission for economic and scientific-technical co-operation, which has ended in Moscow. Bogdan Mikolajczyk, Moscow correspondent of TRYBUNA LUDU, writes about the great importance of the session in Poland's present situation.

The work of the Polish-Soviet intergovernmental commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation, the signed agreements, and the joint theses, confirm that both countries attach great importance to their partnership, the correspondent writes. This is a partnership in which the Polish side should make every effort to be reliable, in view of the nonfulfillment of Polish export agreements with the Soviet Union. The partnership and the principle of mutual benefits stemming from cooperation obliges Poland to do so.

It follows from the jointly adopted theses that the land of the soviets sees possibilities for increasing the supplies of raw materials above the amounts envisaged by the year's trade protocol, which will enable us to make use of spare capacity in certain branches of Polish industry. The Soviet Union's readiness, as expressed during the meetings of the intergovernmental commission, to redeem a certain amount of investment equipment which Poland imported in excessive amounts during the preceeding period, also helps to meet Polish needs, B. Mikolajczyk writes.

Stanislaw Kisiecki, commentator of GLOS PRACY, writes: For us, the Soviet Union is a big partner in trade and in the development of the coordination and specialization of production. Raw materials deliveries from the USSR form the foundation of our economy: oil, natural gas, iron ore, alluminum, cotton, artificial fertilizers, paper and cellulose. The raw materials we buy in the USSR are cheaper than those in Western markets, and frequently we have obtained certain goods ahead of schedule, which helped to alleviate some of the big delays in our industry. And this is not the only advantage we derive from this system. It is also important that deliveries of Soviet raw materials are offset by extremely advantageous exports of Polish products. More than two-thirds of Polish exports to the USSR are industrial products, half of them being automobiles and equipment. One could say, therefore, that the conditions for Polish-Soviet trade and economic cooperation are very favorable, and that the two countries clearly complement one another in many spheres.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Reviews Meeting

LD051144 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 5 Jun 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun (PAP)--In connection with the conclusion of the session for the Polish-Soviet intergovernmental commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation and also the signing of the latest eight long-term treaties in the area of cooperation and specialization of Polish and Soviet industry, ZYCIE WARSZAWY publishes a commentary by E. (Seradzinski), who writes among other things:

The Soviet side has more than once in the recent past proved by its actions that it not only has an attitude of understanding for our situation, but is also increasing deliveries of raw and other materials and consumer goods over and above what was provided for by the protocol.

The talks in Moscow, continues the author, showed that one possible way of paying for the growing deliveries of raw materials might be to start manufacturing goods produced from materials specially delivered for this [purpose] from the USSR.

During the session, there was also an examination of the partial subsidizing of expenditures on certain industrial installations under construction. This contribution would be returned by setting aside part of the output for the Soviet Union, concludes E. (Seradzinski).

GLOS PRACY Sees Bright Spot

LD081526 Warsaw PAP in English 1406 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Jun (PAP)--"A new, brighter spot in Poland's grim economic sky" is how GLOS PRACY daily sized the importance of Soviet-Polish economic talks in Moscow which resulted in signing of eight new agreements.

The high-level talks confirmed the Soviet determination to help Poland economically through her current difficulties, the paper wrote. Additional supplies of raw materials of prime importance for Polish industry, deliveries of machinery for coal mining and a host of other measures were agreed upon, among them the entirely new initiative designed to ease the threat of idle plants and workers--manufacture in Poland with Soviet materials of goods commissioned by the Soviet side.

The agreements reached in Moscow reflect both the genuine striving of the USSR to help Poland and the Soviet confidence that the Polish economy will recover and continue to be a valuable partner, said GLOS PRACY in conclusion.

ANTI-SOVIET PROVOCATIONS ENDANGER CREDIBILITY

LD090953 Warsaw PAP in English 0818 GMT 9 Jun 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (PAP)--The alliance with the Soviet Union constitutes the foundation of Poland's security, wrote ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today. We have learnt--already during the war years--that powerful and infallible allies are the condition for a lasting and independent existence of the Polish state.

This truth has acquired special importance today, when our country is in an extremely tough economic and social fix. Numerous examples of hostility towards the Soviet ally can make the Soviet Union think twice about our credibility as a partner. The leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party in Poland is for the remaining members of the socialist coalition, our guarantee of being an infallible link in the Warsaw Treaty: Attempts at upheaving this leadership are also harmful for our credibility as allies.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI continued that in these conditions each act of provocation aimed against the USSR is detrimental to our most vital state and national interests. Whoever strikes out at the Polish-Soviet alliance, at the bond of Polish-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms, is really attacking the foundations of Poland's security.

In the face of the extremely difficult social and economic situation in our country our alliance with the Soviet Union continues to be an elementary condition for securing Poland's safety and overcoming this country's troubles.

OLSZOWSKI RECEIVES VISITING SOVIET JOURNALISTS

LD062240 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Jun (PAP)--A group of Soviet party journalists, led by R. Kosolapov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of KOMMUNIST, has visited Poland at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee.

A series of talks and meetings took place in PZPR Central Committee departments, namely the Press, Radio and Television Department and the Ideoeducational Work Department; the Warsaw and Krakow Voivodship party committees; the party organizations of the Krakow transportation equipment plant and the Warsaw metallurgical plant; the editorial offices of TRYBUNA LUDU, ZYCIE WARSZAWY and NOWE DROGI; the committee for radio and television; the PZPR Central Committee Higher School of Social Sciences; and at the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society.

The Soviet journalists were received by Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Boris Aristov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador to Poland attended the meeting.

KRZAK CONTRADICTS U.S. ACADEMIC ON DEBTS REPAYMENT

LD031844 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 3 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jun (PAP)--In an interview with a PAP reporter Poland's [words indistinct] Marian Krzak spoke of the country's balance of payments and the effect which the re-scheduling of the debt repayment has on the Polish economy.

Minister Krzak said that Poland was in great economic straits but she still remained an interesting and reliable partner. Poland possesses many natural resources, a developed processing industry and skilled manpower. Our partners realize that the credits will help us revive the economy said he.

Polish difficulties have arisen from an inefficient economic model and structures, which can be rectified.

Poland has decided against unilateral moratorium to avoid a considerable risk of economic retortions. The idea is to achieve rescheduling of Polish debt on the best possible terms. In agreement with our creditors we have opted for refinancing or consolidation and re-scheduling of repayments. The negotiations in progress will lessen the burden of repay-ments. The negotiations in progress will lessen the burden of repayment. Under the Paris agreement debt repayments [word indistinct] (?interest) rates worth about 3 billion dollars will be rescheduled, he continued.

Minister Krzak went on to say that although imports have been restricted to raw materials, medicines and food only, they are still bigger than exports. Non-repayable assistance from the socialist countries worth 465 million dollars has been used for credit repayment instead of on financing imports of raw materials and primary products.

Minister Krzak disagrees with the American Professor Richard Portes' opinion that Poland belatedly started talks on rescheduling debt repayments. Under bilateral agreements, we have negotiated rescheduling of credits outstanding since 1978. Last October Poland received from the Federal Republic of Germany 1.2 billion marks in refinancing credit and two months before that, in London, 325 million dollars. Poland started bilateral negotiations last September. An earlier start of the talks was impossible because this would call in question all earlier credit agreements. The negotiations started early last autumn were expected to close by December, but they dragged on until 28 April this year, which is not Poland's fault.

Krzak said that Poland has long sought postponement of debt repayment and has done it with with some success, but publicity was avoided. Poland took into account the international situation and the readiness of her partners to negotiate. All along she has been concerned with getting such terms of rescheduling which would not make the acquisition of new credits impossible.

If in 1982 Poland succeeds in attaining equilibrium of the balance of trade with Western countries and begins to build up credit balance, Polish indebtness will continue to grow only until 1985.

Poland received in Paris 3 billion dollars credit for repayment of debts and interest rates. It will be paid back in the years 1986-1989, Krzak went on. Poland has to conclude bilateral credit agreements with 16 countries. An agreement with Italy has already been concluded and those with France, Great Britain and Switzerland are expected to materialize shortly. A similar sum, but without interest, is at stake in negotiations in Frankfurt. As a result of negotiations 95 percent of debt repayment without interest has been rescheduled. This being too little, discussions are still continued and likely to be concluded in mid-June.

IMPLICATION OF FRG 'REVANCHIST EVENTS' VIEWED

LD091154 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Jun 81

["The Season of Revanchism"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (PAP)--Writing about the traditional revanchist events which opened a few days ago in the FRG, TRYBUNA LUDU notes that the aim of these measures is the unchanged territorial claims put forward with regard to the GDR, Poland, the CSSR and the USSR. Those taking part in these measures cast doubt on the postwar political and territorial arrangement in Europe, and are undermining the results of the Hitlerite defeat of the Third Reich [as received] which according to the official "legal" interpretation still exists as it did within the 1937 borders, and covers, among other things, one-third of the state territory of Poland.

An important part of the activities of the "associations" is to spread anti-Polish agitation among the people, and to effect a strengthening of the revanchist content of FRG policy, both internally (in the educational and legal systems, Bundeswehr training and so forth), and externally.

Thirty-six years after the war, meetings are organized with the financial help of the authorities to incite people against the existing borders in Europe, and against the treaty on the normalization of relations between the FRG and Poland and the other socialist countries.

We do not overestimate the security [as received] arising from such kinds of revanchist congress for our borders, which are effectively defended by the cohesive force of the Warsaw Pact. However, we cannot but point out to realistic sections of the FRG people who desire a treaty with us, that the continuation of these kinds of inflammatory revanchist mass events is undermining the FRG's treaty credibility in East and West, the organ of the PZPR Central Committee notes.

GDR'S STOPH SENDS CONDOLENCE MESSAGE TO JARUZELSKI

LD092108 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (PAP)--Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, has sent a message of condolence to General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Poland's prime minister, in connection with the train crash near Pilana. The message, sent on behalf of the Council of Ministers and the GDR people, conveys words of deep sympathy for the families of the victims of the tragic accident.

CEAUSESCU, KIRCHSCHLAEGER START TALKS IN VIENNA

AU092030 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1943 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Vienna, 9 Jun (AGERPRES)--On Tuesday, June 9, official talks started at the Hofburg Palace between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger.

Participating in the talks, for Romania, are Elena Ceausescu, Nicolae Constantin, Stefan Andrei, Ioan Avram, other officials.

For Austria--Bruno Kreisky, Willibald Pahr, Josef Staribacher, other officials.

The official talks occasion an examination of the ways and possibilities of intensifying the collaboration between the two countries as well as of a wide spectrum of problems of international situation.

The two presidents highlighted that the Romanian-Austrian relations have amplified and deepened in recent years. The progress marked in the promotion of the political, economic, technico-scientific, cultural and other domains was emphasized. They highlighted the determination to expand still more the mutually advantageous economic relations, to actuate and diversify the cooperation between Romania and Austria, on third markets included, to turn to best advantage the possibilities offered in this connection by the two countries' economies. They stressed that the Romanian-Austrian economic exchanges, the cooperation in production included, might double in the next 4-5 years. Special emphasis was placed on the possibility to begin Romanian-Austrian collaboration in the turning to use of new energy sources, of Danube transportation, given the prospects opened in this respect by the construction of the Danube-Black Sea canal and of the Rhine-Danube canal.

They stressed it was necessary to increase the contacts in science and culture, education and other domains, for a better mutual acquaintance, for the exchange of spiritual assets.

Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Rudolf Kirchschlaeger exchanged views on questions of the international life, emphasizing once more the preoccupation of Romania and Austria with the complex issues on a world plane, which generate ever bigger dangers for peoples' peace and independence. In this respect, Romania's president stressed that under the circumstances, it is now more necessary than ever to intensify the efforts in order to prevent the international life from worsening, to resume and consolidate the course of detente, ensure the peoples' fundamental right to free, independent existence, to peace and life. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the need for solving peacefully, by negotiations, all interstate disputes, while giving up the use of force, the military confrontations. Worry was expressed about the tension in Lebanon and the serious situation generated by the inadmissible, quite unjustified Israeli Air Force attack on the atomic-electric station in Iraq. Likewise, they stressed the need for bigger efforts in order to attain the establishment of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, with an important role having to be played in this respect by the holding of an international conference sponsored and participated in by the UN, that should be attended by all parties concerned, inclusive of the PLO, as the lawful representative of the Palestinian people.

Special attention was paid during the talks to the questions of security and cooperation in Europe. Emphasis was placed in this respect on the importance of the successful conclusion of the Madrid conference.

The necessity was also stressed for firm action to be taken in order to prevent the deployment and development of further missiles in Europe, for negotiations to start to this end.

The two heads of state expressed Romania's and Austria's resolve to actively contribute to the success of the Madrid conference, to the entrenchment of a climate of understanding, security and cooperation in Europe.

During the talks, approached were also questions related to the halting of the arms race and the passage to practical, efficient measures of disarmament, nuclear disarmament first of all, to the need for action to be taken for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order.

Stressing that Romania and Austria positively collaborated internationally in the interests of peace and detente, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Rudolf Kirchschlaeger reaffirmed the two countries' wish to further collaborate ever more closely so that they may contribute to the cause of security, cooperation and respect for national independence, of peace in Europe and the world over.

President Nicolae Ceausescu invited Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, federal president of Austria, to pay a visit to Romania together with his wife.

The talks proceed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, of mutual understanding and esteem.

Ceausescu Meets Diplomatic Corps

AU091555 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu today made a courtesy call on Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, federal president of Austria, and Mrs Herma Kirchschlaeger. The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual esteem, characteristic of close traditional Romanian-Austrian relations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, as well as Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Mrs Herma Kirchschlaeger, met again at an intimate lunch offered by the Austrian president and his wife in honor of the high-ranking Romanian guests. In the friendly atmosphere of the lunch, the two presidents expressed full satisfaction at their new meeting in Austria, and the conviction that the current Romanian-Austrian summit dialogue will open up new prospects for developing friendly relations between our countries.

At the Hofburg Palace, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu this afternoon received the chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited in Vienna together with their wives. The meeting was attended by Comrades Nicolae Constantin, Stefan Andrei, Ion Avram and other Romanian officials. Austrian officials were also present. President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu had a cordial talk with the diplomats present.

REPORTAGE ON ACTIVITIES OF COSMONAUTS; AWARDS NOTED

Ceausescu Presents Awards

AU081620 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today awarded the supreme honorary title of Hero of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Lt Maj Dumitru Prunariu, researcher cosmonaut, pilot, aviation engineer in the army of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and to Col Leonid Ivanovich Popov, pilot cosmonaut, citizen of the USSR and commander of the Soyuz 40 spacecraft. The titles were awarded at a ceremony held this afternoon, and were conferred under a presidential decree for responsible fulfillment of the mission on board the scientific experimental orbital complex Salyut 6-Soyuz, and for successful completion of the scientific space research program on the first joint Romanian-Soviet space flight.

At the same ceremony, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu awarded the Order Tudor Vladimirescu First Class to Maj Dumitru Dediu, pilot aviation engineer in the army of the Socialist Republic of Romania and member of the back-up space crew, conferred by presidential decree for distinguished work in the preparation and fulfillment of the first Romanian-Soviet joint space flight.

The ceremony was attended by Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Comrades Ilie Verdet, Ion Coman, Ion Dinca, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Radulescu, Stefan Voicu, Petre Enache, Constantin Olteanu, Ion Ursu, and Col Gen Vasile Milea, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff, and Air Force Commander Lt Gen Gheorghe Zarnescu. Also present were USSR Ambassador to Bucharest Vasiliy Ivanovich Drozdenko, Maj Gen Aleksey Leonov, assistant commander of the training center for cosmonauts, (Vlado Vereshchiak), vice chairman of the Intercosmos Council, and members of the Soviet Embassy staff.

Lt Maj Dumitru Prunariu and Col Leonid Ivanovich Popov took the floor at the ceremony. They expressed warm thanks to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for the high distinctions awarded to them. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu warmly congratulated the awardees. The speech of the party secretary general and president of the republic was punctuated by lively applause.

In memory of the first Romanian in space, Dumitru Prunariu and Leonid Ivanovich Popov gave Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu a miniature of the Bucharest Monument of Aviation Heroes, a portrait of the RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, state flags of Romania and the USSR signed by the members of the joint Romanian-Soviet space crew, and various objects from the space craft used during the joint international space flight. Maj Gen Aleksey Leonov, assistant commander of the training center for cosmonauts, gave Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu a painting of a sunrise in space, done by himself.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu then had a talk with the awardees, in a comradely atmosphere of warm friendship, and had their picture taken with them.

Ursu Receives Cosmonauts

AU091830 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Jun (AGERPRES)--Ion Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, received the two cosmonauts of the joint Romanian-Soviet crew, Dumitru S. Prunariu and Leonid Ivanovich Popov, and Dumitru T. Dediu, pilot-engineer, cosmonaut on the spare crew, and Major-General Aleksey Leonov, assistant to the commander of the cosmonauts' training centre, and (Vladen S. Vereschatin), vice chairman of the "Intercosmos" Council.

On the occasion, the cosmonauts requested that academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister, chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, a prominent personality of national and international science, be conveyed their full gratitude for the contribution made to the development of Romanian research, for the conditions afforded for the activity of research and technological engineering, for the special assistance given in the development of the Romanian-Soviet technico-sceintific cooperation, in the joint program of space research they had fulfilled.

Thanking for the words of high esteem and appreciation, the first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology conveyed, on behalf of the council's executive, congratulations for the successes marked by the Romanian-Soviet crew, by Romanian and Soviet experts who put together their skills and efforts to help the successful fulfillment of the program of technico-scientific collaboration between the two countries in this domain.

He also assessed the good results of the chemical-physical and medical-biological tests made on board of the "Soyuz-Salyut 6" station, stressing the originality, outstanding miniaturization, low energy consumption and high viability of the apparatus meant for those researches.

Soviet Embassy Reception

AU091856 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Jun (AGERPRES)--On Tuesday night V.I. Drozdenko, Soviet ambassador in Bucharest, gave a reception in honor of the joint Romanian-Soviet space crew that concluded successfully its mission aboard the "Salyut 6"-"Soyuz" orbital complex.

Cosmonauts' Press Conference

AU081947 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Jun (AGERPRES)--In the afternoon of June 8: The members of the Romanian-Soviet space crew, Dumitru Prunariu and Leonid Popov, together with their colleague of the spare crew, Dumitru Dediu, participated in a press conference organized by the Journalists Council of Romania.

Romanian press representatives and foreign press correspondents accredited to Romania were present.

Answering a question, Dumitru Prunariu stressed that the collaboration with his friend and colleague Leonid Popov was very fruitful. "We have got along together well since we first met and, during the training, we have got close to each other, collaborating in the appropriate control and handling of the spacecraft."

Referring to the purpose of that flight, the Romanian cosmonaut showed that it was meant for space research for peaceful purposes. "I am happy--he said--to have participated in this flight that included scientific, technological, medical experiments only for peaceful purposes. Our collaboration in space research will proceed only on this basis".

In turn, L. Popov said: "The outer space can and must unite all humans on the earth, develop the confidence that it is on the same planet that all people live and that it is only up to them to make this planet live in peace".

Then, Cosmonauts Prunariu, Popov and Dumitru Dediu as well as Major-General Aleksey Leonov enlarged upon aspects of preparation of the crews and spacecraft for the space missions, a well as of tests made on board of the "Salyut-6" orbit station, pointed to the performance of the apparatuses made by the Romanian and Soviet experts, to their results in the implementation of the flight program. Highlighted along this line was the importance of the scientific experiments worked out by the Romanian scientists for studying phenomena of the cosmos, its influence over the human body. I might say--showed Dumitru Prunariu--that quite many of the tests conducted aboard the orbital station could be of use in a near, even very near future. This the "Biodoza" experiment carried out by means of a small device, helped grasping data on the amount of radiation the space ship and first of all the crew aboard it receives. Immediate conclusions can be synthesised on the radiations existing at various latitudes of the globe.

Details were given on the activities carried out aboard the "Salyut 6" orbital station in the field of agriculture, geology, technical, technological and medical experiments.

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES RCP ON ECONOMIC MATTERS

AU091143 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Jun 81 pp 1, 3

[Report on speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the 4 June Bucharest meeting of the RCP Central Committee]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu spoke extensively about the responsibilities incumbent on county bodies and all party organizations, and on ministries and other central bodies for fulfilling this year's plan tasks. Along this line, the party secretary general stated that the fulfillment of the industrial plan provisions is generally satisfactory. At the same time, it must be stressed that the production increase established by planning bodies for the first quarter fell short of potential, thus leaving a bigger load for the second half of the year; this is an erroneous practice which in future will have to be completely eliminated.

Referring to the situation in agriculture, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu criticized the fact that there are still plots of land that have not been sown, especially in the vegetable-growing sector. Urgent measures are required to rapidly complete sowing on all available land and to perform all crop maintenance operations in best conditions, utilizing for this purpose all manpower and material means, mobilizing the entire village population, and at the same time intensifying party and state supervision in this area. This is the only way to compensate for the signs of drought that have emerged and to ensure good crops this year. The party secretary general recommended successive crops to make up for the vegetable production which failed to be achieved in spring, stating that all possible efforts must be made to ensure adequate market supplies.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu also requested the party bodies and agricultural organizations to immediately begin with the necessary preparations for harvesting, so that all the crops for this year can be gathered within the shortest possible time and without loss, and to create conditions for immediately storing the crops. It is utterly forbidden to leave agricultural produce in the fields, in the open. He added that plowing should begin within a maximum of 10 days after the crops have been gathered. Measures must already be taken to prepare the storing of fall crops; all available facilities must be utilized for that purpose, and no crops are permitted to be left in the fields.

In the same context it was recommended that due attention be paid to storing straw and corn cobs for fodder.

Criticizing certain situations noted in the area of animal breeding in some agricultural units, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu requested resolute measures to put order and discipline in that important agricultural sector. Every possible effort must be made to ensure fodder, by optimally capitalizing on hayfields and pastureland and increasing their productivity. Resolute measures were recommended to improve the situation in the animal breeding area as of this year, especially regarding meat and milk production. Veterinary assistance and livestock care must be improved; animal feed must be based on scientific, rational norms, the number of livestock planned must be attained and prescribed slaughtering weight observed, so that tasks regarding quotas to the state stocks and county self-supplies can be fulfilled. In this respect resolute steps were recommended to modernize all stables and to sow surrounding areas by September.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that one of the important tasks of all county party bodies is to supervise irrigation and drainage work and operations designed to prepare for production excessively humid land by improving natural drainage systems and pumping off surplus water. Measures are also required to improve the activities of agroindustrial councils, whose number will be reduced to ensure better organization and more efficient management.

The speaker stated that the county party bodies must greatly concern themselves with ensuring all state stocks of agricultural produce and foodstuffs, increase the contribution of both state and cooperative agricultural units and of private farmers to fulfilling and exceeding the plan, and improve and expand the system of private contracting. They must focus their attention on the production of meat, milk, eggs, vegetables and fruit--including early crops--with a view to securing good market supplies.

Referring then to industrial activities, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the need to judiciously reschedule production for the second half of the year so as to ensure complete fulfillment of the plan. It is vitally important for smooth production flows to ensure technical-material supplies for the enterprises on the basis of established consumption norms. The party secretary general asked the ministries to take energetic steps to ensure that our modern enterprise manufacture locally certain raw and other materials, subassemblies and equipment which are currently being imported without any justification. We must firmly combat tendencies to make fetish out of foreign products, and must daringly and responsibly capitalize on our research and creation potential, on the intelligence and technological experience of our working people. This is an essential condition for ensuring good supplies and smooth production flows, and for fulfilling the itemized production plan in all industrial branches. Major attention must be given to implementing consumption norms and to continuously reducing consumptions of raw materials and energy.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu called attention to the need for intensified efforts to improve the quality of all products--an objective of vital importance for the progress of our national economy. Along with sophisticated products we still manufacture outdated ones with obsolete parameters that must be rapidly redesigned. It is equally necessary to improve the processing of raw materials and to utilize them with maximum efficiency, thus obtaining far higher value for the same amount of raw materials. The party secretary general also criticized lack of discipline in production and requested the adoption of firm measures to ensure fault-free manufacturing of all industrial products.

Referring to industrial production for export, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu requested that continuous efforts be made to increase hard currency returns in our foreign trade. The party secretary general criticized failures to complete products stipulated in contracts with foreign partners and requested the party bodies and the ministries to take the most energetic possible measures to rapidly comply with all export obligations. He also recommended greater efforts to reduce imports, with a view to redressing our balance of payments. All imports must be covered by compensatory goods sales in foreign markets. Romania will not contract for additional credits. Party and state central and county bodies must exercise strict monthly supervision of the fulfillment of production for export and of its quality.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then spoke about the need to improve coal and oil extraction work, which is decisive in fulfilling the state plan. Reductions of imports will result in increased tasks for those industrial branches and in increased responsibilities for the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology and for party and state bodies in the relevant counties. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu recommended resolute actions to eliminate the serious failings existing in that sector, to strengthen work and production discipline, and to improve the organization and leadership of all enterprises.

Criticizing the failure to fulfill the investment plan because of certain deficiencies in the organization and supervision of construction work, the party secretary general recommended resolute measures to make up for lags in the integral fulfillment of the investment plan in industry, agriculture and housing.

In connection with the transport sector, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu called attention to the special tasks incumbent on that sector during the agricultural campaign when all motor vehicles must be put at the disposal of agricultural units and stressed the need to shorten transport distances and eliminate empty runs. All waste in utilizing transportation means must be resolutely eliminated in our country.

As for consumption in the economy, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that we will rapidly have to introduce consumption and manpower expenditures, thus establishing rational and responsible systems in all the enterprises and sectors of our national economy. It is in this direction that we must develop workers' democracy, self-management and self-administration; this is how the new economic-financial mechanism must be applied among all collectives of working people.

In connection with the election of delegations to the Second Congress of Working People in Industry, Construction, Transports, Goods Turnover and Finances, the party secretary general recommended that greatest attention be given to the views of the working people in each enterprise, and that only people who have the general support of their collective be elected. The general meetings and county conferences which will be held in preparation for the congress must responsibly debate all problems that are decisive to fulfilling the state plan with a view to resolving them to the greatest possible extent before the congress.

The party secretary general gave the county bodies the tasks of improving party activities and enhancing their efficiency in dealing with economic development, political work and education, of strengthening the role of party organizations in uniting all working people's forces to successfully implement our domestic and foreign policies.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu concluded by expressing his conviction that the county party bodies, ministries and all working people will spare no effort to fulfill their important obligations in all the sectors of the national economy, to fully achieve the provisions of the plan for this year and for the entire 5-year plan.

ROMANIAN-TURKISH COMMISSION MEETS IN ANKARA

AU091843 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Ankara, 9 Jun (AGERPRES)--The sixth session of the Joint Romanian-Turkish Committee for Cooperation in the Field of Mining, Oil and Energy was held in Ankara. Established were measures for materializing under optimum conditions the cooperation targets set between Romania and Turkey.

The sides agreed to expand bilateral cooperation in the field of equipment for hydropower centrals, for the capitalization of nonferrous, nonmetalliferous ore and coal deposits as well as in other domains of joint interest.

Special attention was paid to the problems regarding the building, in cooperation with Romania, of the central Anatolia refinery that is to process 5 million tons of crude annually.

The protocol on the proceedings of the session was signed by the heads of the two delegations--Gheorghe Petrescu, minister secretary of state, the Ministry of Machine Building, and by Suha Somer, under secretary of state, the Ministry of Energy Land Natural Resources of Turkey.

The head of the Romanian delegation also conducted talks with Kemal Canturk, minister of trade, Serbulent Bingol, minister of energy and natural resources, and Sahap Kocatopcu, minister of industry and technology. Expressed was satisfaction at the progress marked in the economic collaboration between Romania and Turkey, as well as the resolve of the two sides to take future action for deepening this collaboration.

FOREIGN MINISTRY CONDEMNS ISRAELI ATTACK

LD091643 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)--On the occasion of the aggressive Israeli attack on Baghdad, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has given the following statement to TANJUG:

"The unprovoked air attack by Israeli planes on the capital of Iraq represents an act of state terrorism and the crudest violation of the principle of sovereignty in international relations. This is a very dangerous event which evokes great concern and demands energetic censure by the entire international community.

"It is a question of one more serious attack on the provisions of the UN Charter and the norms of international behavior. Israel has once again resorted to the crude application of force with a view to spreading the conflagration of war in the Middle East and deepening the crisis in that region. With its latest armed aggression, it has expanded the area of its intervention and attacks on the freedom of people and countries in this region.

"The dangers of extending the crisis by means of aggressive actions on Israel's part demonstrate even more the need for more urgent measures by the international community, especially through the United Nations, which could open up the process of a political resolution of the Middle East conflict. Thus, the lack of readiness to resolutely approach the solution of this crisis and to recognize the Palestinian issue as its key component is encouraging even more the impudence of the government of Israel.

"Yugoslavia's stance on these issues is well known. Thus, we endorse the initiative to call an urgent session of the Security Council which, according to the UN Charter, is obliged to act in such instances of threats to peace and security and to take appropriate measures in accordance with the charter so as to restrain the aggressor.

"This latest act of Israeli aggression also confirms the need to approach without delay the realization of the process of a comprehensive solution to the Middle East crisis on the basis of the application of the UN resolutions and decisions by gatherings of non-aligned countries, which deem the Middle East crisis to be one of the most dangerous global crises."

Belgrade Radio Commentary

AU091707 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] In connection with the Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear installations in the vicinity of Baghdad, here is a commentary by Milutin Milenkovic:

The most serious act of state terrorism has been carried out at the world's likeliest flammable place of conflict and during the most critical international circumstances. While the Iraqi-Iranian war is continuing despite the grave internal consequences and a constant danger of new foreign intervention in the world's oil backyard, while a civil war is raging in Lebanon and Syrian-Israeli tension caused by missiles exists in the area, while in Europe fear and anxieties exist over Poland and in connection with Poland, an ultraright-wing conquering regime is raining missiles on nuclear reactors in the vicinity of the ancient Iraqi city and capital of Baghdad.

In an aggressive attack through the airspace of two neighboring countries, Israeli fighter bombers, produced and equipped in the United States, directly intervened in the extremely dangerous war between Iran and Iraq, thus ignoring not only all international law considerations, but also those of their closest allies, such as the U.S. Government and Egyptian President as-Sadat.

The selection of the target and the choice of the moment for this action demonstrate that it is illusory to build any bridges of peace with the policy of the Israeli rightwing and politicians of the Menahem Begin type.

As soon as he completed a new round of friendly talks with Egyptian President as-Sadat in Sharm ash-Shaykh, as soon as he agreed, at U.S. insistence, to reduce somewhat the threat of a new, general armed attack on Syria and of conquering Lebanon, Prime Minister Begin delivered a new blow behind the back of all those supporting him abroad.

Insufficiently informed about similar occurrences in the past few years, President as-Sadat had made statements that in a possible new Syrian-Israeli war he would remain neutral. And as soon as President as-Sadat said this, Begin attacked Iraq, with which Egypt has become somewhat more friendly recently. As soon as he received and publicly accepted U.S. President Reagan's invitation that the Israeli prime minister--the one to be elected at the parliamentary elections at the end of this month--visit the United States and resume the dialogue on further friendly cooperation with the United States and the tripartite cooperation with Egypt, Menahem Begin brought the U.S. Government into a situation in which it must publicly condemn and dissociate itself from such a guest and friend.

The Israeli Government's constant armed aggressiveness, the arrogant demonstration of supremacy over neighbors and the fact that it is not punished in the current international situation, precisely now on the eve of parliamentary elections, all this will probably bring some new points to the Israeli Government in its internal struggle for power. However, from the viewpoint of world peace, all this is blind adventurism, a state of lawlessness that only encourages a general disregard for peace in an area full of strategic, economic, national and political contradictions. Thus, in this part of the world, as a result of a military operation, that Pandora's box has been touched from which snakes with nuclear heads appear.

The Iraqi Okirak nuclear center near Baghdad is controlled by the International Atomic Energy Agency. Iraq has signed the Nuclear Arms Nonproliferation Treaty and, in cooperation with French experts and organs, it was building its center for peaceful purposes. On the other hand, Israel has its nuclear complex, Dimona, in the Negev Desert, some 60 km from the town of Beersheba. This complex was built in 1958 and it undoubtedly is already producing nuclear weapons.

In cooperation with the U.S. intelligence agency, CIA, agents of the Israeli Mossad 10 years ago organized the great spy feat of stealing 200 tons of uranium, from which some dozens of atomic bombs similar to the one that devastated Hiroshima were built in the Dinoma nuclear center. Later, Israel began cooperation in the field of uranium and nuclear energy with the South African Republic, and thus the Israeli and world press as well as military circles have no doubts that Israel possesses nuclear weapons. Thus, the periodical INTERNATIONAL (?SCIENCE) REVIEW recently reported that Israel has 20-30 atomic bombs, while some newspapers in Israel itself report an arsenal of 200 nuclear warheads and the production of medium-range cruise missiles whose range is [figure indistinct] km, to carry this explosive [word indistinct].

Israel wants to create and preserve a nuclear monopoly in the Middle East. The recent attack was carried out to demonstrate this determination. This is a direct challenge to the shaky peace in the Middle East region and in the world. The international community should halt this Israeli behavior before it is too late.

HERLJEVIC REPORTS TO ASSEMBLY ON KOSOVO EVENTS

LD092340 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)--Franjo Herljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs, presented a report at the session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly on the security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the measures taken by the organs of internal affairs.

The counterrevolutionary activity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo--calculated to undermine our constitutional order and the country's integrity--reached its culmination in March and April of this year. It represents the result of the continuing and planned activity of the Albanian irredentists and nationalists.

Extensive and deep indoctrination and years of tolerant attitude toward these phenomena and the lack of political vigilance enabled the counterrevolution to achieve its well-known extent and brutality. This attitude and the political climate thus created are also illustrated by the fact that during the demonstrations, the organized political forces and subjects of social self-protection were in places confused and in a number of environments they completely failed, Herljevic said.

The responsibility for the tolerant attitude toward the hostile activity becomes even greater if we bear in mind that Comrades Tito and Kardelj, especially after 1968, seriously pointed out the danger and the need for a more resolute struggle against irredentism and nationalism in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

I should like to recall, Herljevic continued, Tito's appraisal, made in Pristina in April 1975, to the effect that our country has enemies both inside and outside the country and that some of them are trying "here in Kosovo to find a place for their destructive work in order to undermine all of Yugoslavia. This is why I say that questions which concern Kosovo are not a matter of this province and the Republic of Serbia alone, but also of all Yugoslavia." Tito issued a similar warning during his last visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in October 1979, when he stressed that the enemy in the province, making use of distorted facts on Kosovo's reality, was trying to cause dissatisfaction among the Albanians and create dissent among Kosovo's multinational population.

During his conversation with the political aktiv of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in 1977, Kardelj seriously warned it that nationalism in Kosovo, which had its roots in underdevelopment and other conditions inherited from the past, could emerge in the form of a direct counterrevolution unless self-managing sociopolitical relations were developed more rapidly and unless the creative potentials of the province and the country as a whole were linked together and deviations in education and upbringing were eliminated and so forth.

During March and April of this year, Albanian irredentists and nationalists carried out 16 mass demonstrations and other actions in 11 municipalities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Ignoring appeals and warnings from sociopolitical factors and resorting to crude violence, including the use of firearms, they carried out destructive attacks on the administrative organs and social and personal property and threatened the working peoples' and citizens' security. They destroyed or damaged approximately 100 motor vehicles, broke into apartments and factory halls, destroyed--according to incomplete data--more than 400 store windows, other public buildings and apartments and caused other damage to sociopolitical communities, organizations of associated labor and citizens.

The nature and violence of counterrevolutionary actions are also illustrated by the fact that 9 people were killed (8 demonstrators and 1 member of the militia) and 257 injured (133 workers of the organs of internal affairs and 124 demonstrators). The number of injured militiamen would have been considerably higher if they had not been adequately equipped. The members of the security organs and services were exposed to crude insults and provocations, but they displayed great patience and discipline, Herljevic stressed.

The demonstrations by the Albanian nationalists and irredentists and the more serious violations of public order and peace were brought under control by the end of 3 April owing to the energetic action of the organs of internal affairs of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, of the socialist republics, of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Militia units and other members of the security services were sent to Kosovo based on the decision of the SFRY Presidency and in keeping with definite regulations.

It should be said that the Federal Secretariat and--before the outbreak of demonstrations on 25 and 26 March--proposed to the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo that security organs from outside the province be brought in to help quell the demonstrations.

However, it was said that this was not necessary. Such help was demanded only when the violation of public order and peace reached wide dimensions and it became clear that the forces of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo were unable to quell the counter-revolutionary activities.

Even after 3 April, to be more specific, right up to 26 May, the irredentists tried approximately 10 times to organize demonstrations in which they were successful in Istok, Kacanik, Suva Reka and 3 times in Pristina, while the actions of the security organs and services and of sociopolitical factors prevented their attempts in Pec, Djakovica, Decani, Prizren, Orahovac and Vitina.

Along with the broad political action to unmask the counterrevolutionary nature of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and its exponents which is being conducted by the League of Communists and other organized forces of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo with the full support of the entire community, the organs of internal affairs have undertaken and are undertaking a series of activities within their sphere of competence.

In the past period, repressive and preventive measures have been taken which affect approximately 1,700 people. To date, 506 people have been punished according to the law on violations: 287 of these were charged with participation in the demonstrations; 38 with offering support to the demonstrators' 31 with attempting to organize demonstrations; 46 were authors of hostile slogans; and 104 were punished for public hostile declarations. Criminal action was taken against 154. These included 39 members of illegal organizations: 29 are direct organizers of the demonstrations, and the remainder manifested destructive behavior. Among those against whom criminal action has been taken, the majority are intellectuals.

The main thrust of the activity by the internal affairs organs is aimed at exposing the organizers of the counterrevolutionary activity and exponents of hostile actions. Measures are being taken to continue to maintain public order and peace and to prevent every attempt by the enemy to hold back or hinder the process of political differentiation.

By means of the security organs and services, Herljevic said, a number of direct organizers of counterrevolutionary activities have been unmasked in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. They belong to an illegal irredentist organization which has long been known and which is called the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo and Other Albanian Areas. This organization follows the platform of the Albanian Workers Party and is organized according to a system of groups of three. Their work in individual regions is unified by so-called "local committees," and there is also a youth organization. To date, 9 illegal organizations belonging to this "movement" have been uncovered, and their members were active on 11 municipalities in the province. The service is working to uncover new illegal organizations and groups.

Five members of the "central committee" of this "movement" has been identified, and three of them have been captured, while two are abroad.

A number of members of the "movement" went abroad in previous years and formed an organization entitled "Red Popular Front" from Yugoslav workers of Albanian nationality which acted in an anti-Yugoslav way on the platform of the Albanian Workers Party and has its own links in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and other regions of our country.

In addition to this "movement," the existence of an illegal organization calling itself "the Albanian Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Yugoslavia" was uncovered in the region of the province and in other areas during 1979, 1980 and 1981. This is an organization which has the same aim as the above mentioned "movement," which is the annexation of the so-called Albanian areas in Yugoslavia and the creation of a "greater Albania." The only difference is in their tactics on how to achieve this aim.

To date, 137 people involved in the "National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo and Other Albanian Areas" have been identified. Some of them also played an active role in organizing recent counterrevolutionary activities. Some of the had previously been convicted to hostile activity and a number of them had maintained links with the Albanian intelligence service and hostile Albanian emigre groups in the West.

Members of the uncovered illegal groups worked on winning over new members in line with the principles of groups of three, on writing and circulating leaflets and pamphlets of enemy content, and so forth. When they were arrested, propaganda material was found which served them for the indoctrination of the young on the platform of the Albanian Workers' Party and for fanning national hatred and a hostile attitude toward the SFRY. They had been making preparations for carrying out large-scale and crude enemy actions.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted against the chief protagonists of these groups uncovered to date. The service has found several copies of the statute and of the program of the illegal organization, which set as their ultimate aim the secession of Kosovo and of other parts of Yugoslavia in which Albanians live and their annexation to Albania. Three stages in the implementation of their counterrevolutionary goals have been envisaged: first, the indoctrination of nationalist-irredentist bases, the creation and guiding of the Albanian population's dissatisfaction toward the realization of their goals and on this basis making the organization a mass organization; second, the execution of propaganda actions and demonstration, for the purpose of increasingly winning over the Albanian population; and third--under given conditions--an armed uprising and secession from Yugoslavia.

There are no fundamental differences between the ideopolitical platform and the counter-revolutionary goals of this organization and of illegal irredentist organizations and groups uncovered in previous years. On the contrary, there is a continuity which, in addition to what has already been presented, is manifested also in the demands for the so-called ethnic purity of Kosovo and of other Albanian areas.

The demonstrations in Kosovo in 1968, the series of enemy actions in subsequent years and then in March and April this year, were carried out with the same goal and on the same nationalist-irredentist platform. The same perpetrators too emerge in a considerable high number. However, as opposed to 1968, it is noticeable that this time persons who have higher education are much more in evidence.

With reference to the continuity of enemy activity, I would recall that the state security service discovered in Kosovo between 1974 and 1981 618 persons who operated in an organized manner from nationalist irredentist positions. Some 89 persons were sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 1 to 15 years. The public security service submitted in that period reports on offenses against 503 persons who publicly made statements from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. For activity from these positions in other republics and provinces 39 persons were criminally prosecuted and 76 persons were punished in magistrate courts. In the same period in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and in some other republics 13 illegal groups which operated from these positions were uncovered and smashed.

Thus, if one speaks of surprise, I would note that the service is surprised by the depth and breadth of the indoctrination, which is primarily a political issue, as well as by the brutality of enemy actions.

By proceeding from the established program orientation, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs organized within the framework of its legislative powers in the period between 1974 and the outbreak of demonstrations some 30 specialized discussions at which the activity from the positions of Albanian irredentism was discussed in breadth and the tasks for all the services worked out. In this context, in the middle of 1979, an action was launched with the aim of investigating the hotbeds of irredentist and other enemy activity which were manifested mostly in individual educational, cultural, informative and some other institutions in Kosovo. In this connection relevant specialized and technical assistance was extended to the state security service in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Herljevic added.

The state security service of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was oriented especially toward the direct perpetrators of irredentist and nationalist actions and did not work enough with regard to those who inspired enemy activity, including enemy actions initiated in Albania. Apart from this, individuals whose duty it was to direct in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo the work of the service and of other factors of social self-protection, did not attach the relevant political security significance to the knowledge and indications available regarding the preparations of enemy actions.

When we compare the knowledge about the activity of Albanian nationalists and irredentists which was accessible to us before the events in March and April this year with those which we have now, it can be concluded that the Republican Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs was not informed adequately and on time about all the phenomena in Kosovo significant from the security viewpoint. In this connection Herljevic mentioned several specific examples.

The situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is still very complex because the enemy has still not been fully thwarted and exposed. Moreover, further attempts of actions by him and resorting to other and even cruder methods of activity such as terror, violence and guerrilla activity [odmetnistvo] cannot be ruled out. The enemy's obstinacy in persisting with subversive activity, phenomena of provocations, various forms of passive resistance, writing of enemy slogans and circulation of leaflets, impudent statements by individuals calculated to cause riots and national intolerance, cases of desecrating symbols of the revolution and tombstones, attacks on personal property and on individuals, threats motivated by chauvinism, and so forth point to this.

A number of fires at individual and social installations, of breakdowns and of deliberate damage to vehicles and buildings, and so forth have been registered.

In view of the times in which these deeds are committed as well as of the motives from which they are done, we can freely say that they represent acts of diversion from the basic values of our community. Legal steps have been taken against the identified perpetrators.

Since 3 April in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo several hundred slogans have been written, and 15 acts of circulating leaflets and pamphlets of enemy content have been perpetrated. It is characteristic that the slogans have been synchronized as regards their content and time of appearance. Some slogans have the nature of a call for revenge, while others threaten sociopolitical workers of Albanian nationality. The phenomenon of anonymous and threatening letters sent to various addresses has also been registered.

During May members of internal affairs organs were attacked twice with firearms; on 13 May in the village of Donje Prekaze, in the municipality of Srbica, and on 15 May in Pristina when shots were fired in the direction of the guards who were guarding the building in which militiamen were housed.

The special commission formed with the task of examining the circumstances under which four members of the militia were killed and three wounded in the village of Donje Prekaze has completed the first part of its work, and an official statement on it will be released.

Albanian irredentists have tried to organize some enemy activites also outside the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, in places where members of the Albanian nationality either live or work. Recently an attempt to organize demonstrations by Albanian nationalists and irredentists in Ljubljana was nipped in the bud by resolute measures of security organs.

Albania's official factors, their press, radio and television support and incite irredentists to fresh enemy actions. The throwing of explosives at the SFRY Embassy in Tirana is also party of these actions.

In the operative-investigative measures to date several agents of the Albanian intelligence services have been uncovered among members of illegal irredentist organizations and among the actual organizers of the demonstrations.

The propaganda carried out by official Albanian factors, the fascist emigres of Albanian origin and by actions of the so-called Red People's Front who are abroad is fundamentally the same. The Ustasha emigres who back the counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo with the aim of wrecking Yugoslavia have joined them in this.

In more than 20 demonstrations held to date--and some were held simultaneously under the Zogu, Ballist and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania's banner--the demonstrators physically attacked our citizens and threatened the work of the clubs of our workers working abroad and of Yugoslav missions. In this context it should be stated that in some Western countries the authorities have not extended adequate protection to our citizens.

In the same vein, in the demonstrations and other enemy activities of the so-called Red People's Front, some members of Marxist-Leninist factions of communist parties in individual Western countries, who also travel to Albania from time to time and who were also guest at the latest congress of the Albanian Workers' Party, are also taking part.

The Albanian fascist emigres have also resorted to subversive actions abroad by planting explosives at the Yugoslav Air Transport Agency and at the mission of the Yugoslav Tourist Federation in Brussels. There are indications that these emigres are preparing to carry out terrorist actions in the country and abroad.

In connection with the Kosovo events the fascist emigres as a whole have intensified their anti-Yugoslav activity by making use of these events, above all, for the mobilization of their ranks. They have proclaimed this year, in which we mark the 40th anniversary of the revolution, "the year of action and of revenge." The emigres have at their disposal resources to carry out terrorist and diversionary actions. The security service has thwarted several terrorist actions in the last few months.

In connection with the past events in Kosovo various rumors and misinformation are being circulated in the country, aimed at causing intolerance and hatred toward the members of the Albanian nationality. By 1 June this year organs of internal affairs had submitted 91 reports for offenses and 8 reports for criminal acts. In addition, in line with legislative powers, they are also taking other measures.

In the course of and following the Kosovo demonstrations Albanian irredentists and nationalists sent their emissaries to other parts of the country where members of the Albanian nationality live. They tried to win them over for their goals through threats, false presentation of past events and by trying to convince them of the dangers for the Albanian nationality and of Kosovo's exploitation.

The activity by Albanian nationalists and irredentists and the events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo have also had an encouraging effect on other structures of the internal enemy, in particular on nationalists. Their assessment is that the Kosovo events are grist to their mill, and they are thus intensifying the attacks on our self-managing system, on brotherhood and unity and on the equality of nations and nationalities.

Individuals and groups of bourgeois and bureaucratic-dogmatic orientation are trying to legalize some aspects of their enemy activity in various ways--by publishing articles, interviews and books at home and abroad, by sending various petitions and protests, some media abroad and the emigre press usually give such phenomena disproportionate publicity.

By proceeding from the present political security situation, it is necessary to thwart and prosecute even more decisively all exponents of enemy activity.

From the security viewpoint, it is very important to pay greater attention to Yugoslav citizens of Albanian nationality working abroad who have found themselves the target of severe indoctrination by official Albanian representatives, various irredentist and nationalistic emissaries and fascist emigres. Apart from this they are also exposed to various lies and misinformation spread by individual public information media abroad. It is necessary to send among these workers our capable sociopolitical aktivists of Albanian nationality who will present the real state of affairs and who will thus expose most efficiently the enemy's intentions.

The security phenomena and problems mentioned as well as the knowledge about the enemy's intentions and plans lead us to the conclusion that in the period to come we should intensify even more the work concerned with the further development and training of social self-protection.

The counterrevolutionary events which took place clearly demonstrated that the internal affairs organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are too small and insufficiently trained and equipped. I would say that in Kosovo, despite such a pronounced security problem, there are fewer workers in the state and public security services per 1,000 inhabitants than in any other republic or in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Considering this situation, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo recently decided to increase the number of militia members in the province by 1,000 new workers. Similarly, the number of workers in the state security service in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo will be doubled. It was decided that the material position of members of internal affairs organs in the province should also be improved.

The Federal Secretariat, the Socialist Republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina have started on preparations to help in the formation, training and equipping of a special militia unit in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. We are in favor of speeding up the process of training internal affairs organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, so that they are able as soon as possible to resolve the problems imposed by the security situation.

However, proceeding from the existing situation, it is essential that the security measures established during the wider demonstrations, including the presence of the militia of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the Socialist Republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, remain until further notice in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is still complex. The causes of such a situation are numerous. In view of the breadth and depth of the indoctrination carried out, one has to count on longer terms with the problem of Albanian irredentism and nationalism. I am convinced that we as a service will uncover and thwart the enemy. In any case, eliminating the consequences of indoctrination will be a greater problem than uncovering the exponents of enemy activity.

Such a situation demands efforts by all social factors, all the more so if one bears in mind the fact that the events in Kosovo are calculated to destablize Yugoslavia. The situation in this province should also be seen in the context of present international events, of the existing economic problems in the world and in our country and of the intensified actions by external and internal enemy toward our country.

There is no doubt that the proven togetherness and solidarity of all our nations and nationalities will also on this occasion represent a significant backing and contribution to the efforts made by organized forces and all working people of Kosovo to stabilize the situation in the province as soon as possible and to eliminate all sources of enemy activity.

It must be clear to all who work to undermine our community that we will resolutely settle accounts with them and that we will, by every means at our disposal, protect our constitutional order, brotherhood and unity, togetherness and equality of our nations and nationalities, nonalignment, freedom and independence, peaceful life and the creative work of our working people and citizens, Tito's and our work, Franjo Herljevic said at the end of his speech.

FEDERAL CHAMBER REACHES CONCLUSIONS ON KOSOVO

LD092316 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2035 GMT 9 Jun 81

["Conclusions of Federal Chamber Session on Kosovo"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)--The Federal Chamber completely shares the assessments of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee on the hostile counterrevolutionary activity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the aim of which was to violate the constitutional order, threaten the integrity and sovereignty of the SFRY and destroy the brotherhood and unity of equal nations and nationalities. This activity constitutes a direct attack on Yugoslavia's self-management and nonaligned policy.

The Federal Chamber endorses all the measures taken by the SFRY Presidency in quelling this hostile activity.

The Federal Chamber judges that the Federal Executive Council and federal administration organs took the necessary measures and action to protect the SFRY's territorial integrity and constitutional order and that the measures taken were in accordance with the (?constitution) and the rights, duties and authority set out in law, and it approves them.

The Federal Chamber approves the measures being taken by the Federal Executive Council and federal administration organs to ensure that Yugoslav-Albanian relations, in the development of which the SFRY is interested, are realized to their utmost by both sides on the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the inviolability of borders, noninterference in internal affairs, and on the basis of reciprocal interests and equality. At the same time, the chamber criticizes the violation of these principles by the People's Socialist Republic of Albania with a view to imposing a greater Albanian irredentist policy. This has also led to a deterioration of our relations and represents a danger to stability and cooperation in this region.

The Federal Chamber also listened to and accepts the latest information contained in the reports by Franjo Herluevic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for internal affairs, and Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The Federal Chamber positively assesses the efforts by organized socialist forces and all working people and citizens of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the entire community in overcoming the situation caused by the counterrevolutionary activity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The Federal Chamber particularly emphasizes the significance of the involvement of all working people and citizens and all social factors in the Socialist Autonomous province of Kosovo in the struggle to completely defeat the enemy and to achieve lasting stabilization in the province.

The Federal Chamber emphasizes that by means of such involvement we will be able to ensure a renewal of trust and the strengthening of brotherhood, unity and equality in the community of all nations and nationalities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as the most valuable gain of the national liberation war and the socialist revolution.

The Federal Chamber demands that the Federal Executive Council and federal administration organs resolutely continue to take suitable measures to ensure a lasting stabilization of the situation and expedite economic and general social activity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and it charges them with reporting regularly and in a timely manner to the SFRY Assembly on the situation and the effects of the measures which are being taken.

The Federal Chamber adopts the reports by the Committee for National Defense, the Committee for Internal Policy, the Committee for Foreign Policy and the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations.

On the basis of these reports and the discussion, especially [words indistinct] critical references to weaknesses and omissions in monitoring the situation and taking measures, the chamber will closely follow the continued activities for the creation of stable conditions for the development of socialist self-management relations in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

On the basis of the discussion of issues directly connected with the hostile activity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the chamber's working bodies will propose measures to the chamber which should be taken in the sphere of the development of the political system, the strengthening of All-People's Defense and Social Self-protection and foreign policy.

MARKOVIC REPORTS ON DRAFT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

LD100710 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)--Submitting his report on the preparations for the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution, Dragoslav Markovic said, among other things:

Draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution have been prepared by the SFRY Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Questions on the basis of the views of the assemblies of the socialist republics and the socialist autononous provinces and on the basis of the proposals and views which emerged during the public discussion on draft amendments and which were accepted by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

The decision to change the SFRY Constitution was adopted by the Federal Chamber on the basis of the proposal made by the SFRY Presidency within the framework of the implementation of Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work and joint responsibility.

Dragoslav Markovic added that the implementation of the principle of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility expresses the internal requirements of the development of the system of self-management, the development of the further democratization of social relations and the development of the process of political decisionmaking on delegate relations, without those implementation no radical steps can be made in the development of the system of self-management.

The duration of the mandate of the presidents of collective organs, wehther 1-year, 2-year or another duration, will be resolved taking into account their constitutional and self-management function. The development of collective work and joint responsibility will assert more powerfully than before everything that is of a democratic, socialist and self-mangement substance in our social relations, because collective work is in fact socialization of political decisionmaking and the incorporation of even richer democratic substance into social relations, especially into relations of decisionmaking and of assumption of social responsibilities.

The public discussion of the draft constitutional amendments has demonstrated a unanimous social orientation that the implementation of the initiative and the creative change of its substance should contribute to further democratization of social relations. The application of the principle of collective work and joint responsibility will be an additional factor in democratization of socialist self-management foundations. It is realistic to expect further affirmation of associated labor and even more efficient struggle to cut off the roots of personal groupings which still exist in the development of society with tendencies which are sometimes directly manifested and sometimes concealed. All this will help to fully free the creative forces of the working people; it will also help to build a political system about which it will be possible to say that it is the political system of associated labor.

Of course socialization, decisionmaking and development of socialist democracy come up against many different obstacles and oppositions, ranging from objective and real limitations which are the result of overall social development or the development of basic production relations, to the lack of understanding and resistance which are the result of dogmatic, bureaucratic, petitbourgeois and other tendencies and forces. These social contradictions were noted and attempts were made to overcome them a long time ago.

Markovic recalled that the SFRY Constitution has laid down the principles for a more consistent implementation of the principle of collective work and responsibility, while providing concrete solutions for the federation and allowing the republics and municipalities the possibility of finding appropriate solutions in their own constitutions and statutes. In the federation, the constitution has fixed a 1-year mandate for the president and vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly and for the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly. However, as is known, the question of the president of the Federal Executive Council has been resolved differently, a 4-year mandate is proposed for him. This solution has been made necessary by the constitutional position and nature of the executive function in the federation; the status and role of the Federal Executive Council; the constitutional relations between the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council; and by the Federal Executive Council's tasks in international relations.

Changes in the composition of the Federal Executive Council and in the position and the role of its president would seriously inpinge on these relationships and this would require considerably more serious constitutional changes.

However, the SFRY Constitution says that there is no third mandate, even under special procedure. It does not provide for the possibility of repeating the mandate of the president of the Federal Executive Council. It does provide a new role for the SAWPY in the conduct of the procedure regarding the choice of the Federal Executive Council; it commits the Federal Executive Council, after a 2-year period, to submit a report on its overall work. This represents an application of the principle of collective work and the responsibility within the framework of the proposal made by the SFRY Presidency to tackle constitutional changes.

Dragoslav Markovic added: I should like to point out that during the preparation of the text of the amendments attention was especially focused on the questions connected with the constitutional position and function of executive organs--ranging from the municipality to the federation. Just as it was pointed out that the executive organs must be in the service of associated labor, that they must be services of the delegate system and that they must work efficiently and competently, attention was also drawn to the danger of bureaucratization and strengthening of the bureaucratic factor in the system.

All this resulted in the unanimous conclusion that thorough and organized work is required in the period ahead. This will allow the problems of executive function in the system to be assessed and conditions to be created for the realization of its function as envisaged by the constitution and legislation.

Markovic said that although only eight amendments have been proposed, many questions were raised. These are the solutions which effect essential conditions in the system. A serious discussion was started on the position of the executive function in the system; on SFRY Presidency-SFRY Assembly-Federal Executive Council relations; on individual institutions connected with the constitutional position of the SFRY Presidency; on the interpretation of the single foundation of the political system, on the interpretation of the nature of the judicial function and its position; and on the protagonists of the judicial function in society, and so on.

Markovic stressed that in preparing for these constitutional changes special efforts were made to arrive at the most complete coordinated stands possible of all the participants in the preparations, thereby ensuring the agreement of the assemblies of all the republics and autonomous provinces, without which there can be no constitutional changes.

Preparations for the text of the proposed constitutional law were tackled and worked on in this way. During the final drafting of the text of the proposed constitutional law, full agreement was reached in the commission for constitutional questions on the proposed solutions, including the deadlines for the application of individual amendments in the organs of the federation. In the option for the solutions, wherby the election and the appointment of the officials in the organs of the federation should be carried out from the day the newly-elected SFRY assembly consitutes itself, we proceeded, among other things, from the following:

That it is indispensable to carry our appropriate political, especially cadre, preparations.

That prior to the election and the appointment of officials in the organs of the federation stipulations of specific federal laws, other regulations and general acts must be coordinated with the adopted amendments;

That the stipulation of the SFRY Constitution, whereby the Federal Executive Council is elected every time the chambers of the SFRY Assembly are constituted, should not be changed; and

That the reasons for ensuring the continuity in the work and in the stability of the system also enjoin this orientation but, on the other hand, there are no special reasons imposing the requirement not to go for the changes without preliminary preparations.

LCY, SFRY PRESIDENCIES VIEW WORLD SITUATION

LD092142 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1926 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)--The Presidency of Yugoslavia and the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee today confirmed Yugoslavia's stand that a peaceful settling of the Middle East crisis, on the basis of U.N. resolutions, should be embarked upon immediately. This means the withdrawl of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the realisation of the right of the Palestinian people, led by the PLO, to self-determination and to its own state. It is also necessary to establish an equal measure of security for all states in this region.

The two presidencies considered at their session here today the current international situation and Yugoslavia's international activity. They especially pointed to the latest Israeli actions in the Middle East which represent an extremely serious threat to peace in that part of the world and beyond.

The two presidencies expressed deep concern at the sudden sharpening of the situation in Poland, and in that connection at the possible incalculably grave consequences of further tensions. The Presidency of Yugoslavia and of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia confirmed their well-known stand that the Polish people, the Polish working class and the Polish United Workers' Party are alone called upon to solve the present difficulties of Poland and questions concerning the socialist development of the country, without outside interference in the internal affairs of Poland.

Today's session defined the overall international situation as very instable. The two presidencies established that the deterioration of the international situation following the sixth non-aligned summit sets new tasks upon the movement and gives it a special role and responsibility in efforts for overcoming the present situation in the world.

The non-aligned countries, the two presidencies emphasize, are protagonists of principal actions in the United Nations. An overwhelming majority of the non-aligned countries proved to act along the line of the authentic principles of the non-aligned policy. The non-aligned countries also proved capable of achieving the unity of action regarding principal questions.

Top-ranking Yugoslav state and party leaderships today expressed special concern over the further serious deterioration of the economic situation in the world. It was noted that the way in which economic problems and the world economic crisis are being solved increasingly reflects on the entire international relations.

One of priorities of the Yugoslav foreign policy, it was emphasized today, is to promote relations with neighbouring countries on the jointly determined principles.

Yugoslavia will endeavour to develop good-neighbourly relations and by that to strengthen stability in the Balkans and beyond it. However, it will most resolutely resist all attempts of interference in its internal affairs and assaults on its integrity and security, no matter from which side they came.

Yugoslavia continues cooperation with big powers, as well as with other Eastern and Western countries, on the basis of the known principles of mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs, it was stated today.

The two presidencies paid special attention to Yugoslavia's position and activity in the present complex international circumstances. It was stated that the fundamental precondition for the maintenance of Yugoslavia's stable international position is the country's internal stability--the continuity of the Yugoslav road to socialism, strengthening and development of brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities, further development of self-management and the realization of economic stabilization.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH NICARAGUA ISSUED 9 JUNE

LD092059 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text of joint communique on visit of Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockman to Yugoslavia issued in Belgrade on 9 June]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)--At the invitation of Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, Miguel d'Escoto Brockman, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua, made an official and friendly visit to the SFRY from 4 to 5 June 1981.

Minister d'Escoto was received by Petar Stambolic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, and by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council. Minister d'Escoto visited the House of Flowers and laid a wreath on President Tito's grave.

In the talks between Federal Secretary Josip Vrhovec and Minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockman, an exhaustive exchange of views was carried out on issues relating to the continued promotion of relations between the two countries and on the topical international situation.

Minister d'Escoto informed the federal secretary about the development of Nicaragua after the victory of the popular Sandinista revolution and about the tasks and aims in the near future. He also expressed his government's concern at the growing economic, political and diplomatic pressures and threats of aggression against Nicaragua.

The federal secretary emphasized the significance of the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution and emphasized the unacceptability of any attempt from outside aimed at threatening Nicaragua's independence and stopping its democratic and progressive development as an expression of the true aspirations of the people of Nicaragua.

On this occasion too, Yugoslavia's readiness to offer support and help to the efforts of Nicaragua at renewal and economic development was expressed.

The two sides devoted special attention to the promotion of bilateral relations, especially in the sphere of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation. It was noted that relations were developing successfully and that there exist real possibilities and an interest on both sides for them to be promoted even more in future.

Federal Secretary Josip Vrhovec and Minister Miguel d'Escoto talked exhaustively about the [word indistinct] international situation, the policy of nonalignment and the activities of the Nonaligned Movement.

Judging that the situation in the world justifiably gives cause for serious concern on the part of the international community, they called for consistent respect and observation of the principles of the UN Charter and the original principles of the policy of nonalignment in relations between states.

The two sides consider that the main causes of the constant threat to peace in the world and the security of countries is the ever increasing practice of interference in countries' internal affairs, the various forms of pressure from outside, threats of force and the use of force, including military interventions. This leads to a continued deterioration of existing crisis flashpoints and to outbreaks of new crises in various parts of the world, as well as threatening countries' independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, right to self-determination of peoples and unhindred development, especially those of nonaligned and developing countries.

Emphasis was laid on the need for even more intensive involvement by nonaligned countries in the coming period, as well as for a constant strengthening of their action unity, solidarity, closer cooperation, affirmation of the original principles of the policy of nonalignment and the strengthening of the Nonaligned Movement as an independent and global factor of international relations. They judged that the ministerial conference of nonaligned countries in New Delhi had given a powerful stimulus to those efforts.

Minister d'Escoto informed Federal Secretary Josip Vrhovec exhaustively about the topical situation in Central America. The two sides emphasized the conviction that full and free economic, political and social development of countries in that region in accordance with the true aspirations and interests of their peoples can only be achieved if the peoples themselves decide on their paths of internal development, without pressure and interferences from outside.

Both sides consider that the establishment of a new international economic order is essential for the realization of the aims of the nonaligned and developing countries.

Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, informed his guest about the situation in Europe, the Madrid CSCE meeting and activity by European nonaligned and neutral countries.

The talks took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. They confirmed the great closeness of views on various issues.

Foreign Minister Mihuel d'Escoto Brockman invited Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, to visit Nicaragua, and the invitation was accepted with pleasure.

REPORTAGE ON NIGERIAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT

Arrival in Belgrade

LD081420 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Summary] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)--President Shehu Shagari of Nigeria arrived on an official and friendly visit to our country today. He was welcomed with the highest military honors and met by his host, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency. Other officials, including Premier Veselin Djuranovic and Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec, were also present.

'Cordial, Friendly' Talks

LD082308 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2042 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)--Very cordial and friendly is the basic characteristic of the Yugoslav-Nigerian exchange of views conducted this afternoon in the Federation Palace during the talks between Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, and Nigerian President Alhaji Shehu Shagari.

On the Yugoslav side the following also took part in the talks: Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary of foreign affairs; Dusan Ilijevic, member of the Federal Executive Council; Miran Mejak, SFRY ambassador to Nigeria; and other personalities. On the Nigerian side the following were present: I.S. Audu, minister of external affairs; A.O. Oyagbola, minister of national planning; A.I. Gusau, minister of agriculture; S. Ugoh, minister of science and technology; V. Masi, minister of finance; and others.

It is understood that at the beginning of the talks the present situation in the world was characterized as increasingly complex, this being the result of the increasing aspirations of bloc powers to establish spheres of influence, usually to the detriment of nonaligned countries. In this connection it was pointed out that efforts to bring about detente are coming up against serious obstacles at the Madrid CSCE meeting too. In this context the significant role of the African countries in overall world events was stressed, but at the same time it was pointed out that this continent, too, was becoming an area of outside interference and imposition of foreign influence and interests. Hence the need to strengthen the role of nonaligned countries in the quest for a solution to the existing problems. This requires their increasingly close cooperation.

Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed in this connection the role which Nigeria plays in Africa and in the Nonaligned Movement by tis striving for the consistent implementation of the original principles of nonaligned policy. President Shagari, for his part, stressed that Nigeria is drawing its inspirations from the concepts, ideas and works of President Tito and "from his broad struggle for peace and a better world." In explaining Nigeria's policy, Shagari stressed that it seeks to make friends in the whole world. Yugoslavia has "for a long time already been such a friend with whom Nigeria shares the same views and full mutual trust and respect."

Due to its own history, your country, Shagari stressed, knows how to appreciate freedom and the liberation struggle of the African people. We have come, therefore, to confirm that we shall cooperate even more closely as friends, with mutual trust and respect.

The talks also touched upon the most significant preoccupations of the Nonaligned Movement and of the international community as a whole, such as the existing conflicts and the need to resolve them by peaceful means along with full respect for the principles of the UN Charter, and also the amassed problems of international economic relations and the activities of the nonaligned countries in this context.

Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed that all these questions call for closer cooperation between nonaligned countries and between all other countries too in their quest for constructive solutions with which President Shagari agreed adding that he especially wished for consolidation of Yugoslav-Nigerian cooperation in this field.

During today's first part of Yugoslav-Nigerian talks, quite naturally attention was paid to the further development of relations between the two countries which were assessed as traditionally friendly and permeated with mutual respect and understanding. The level of attained political relations, it was assessed, is abreast of the level of economic cooperation between the two countries, but there exist several areas in which further powerful development of cooperation is possible. As an illustration of the Nigerian resolve to make a significant step forward in this respect President Shagari mentioned the present of his ministers responsible for these very areas. In this connection it was agreed that already during this visit separate meetings should be held of several Yugoslav-Nigerian groups to establish a concrete orientation for the further development of economic, scientific-technical and other cooperation between the two countries, especially in the area of higher forms of these relations such as cooperation in joint investments and representation on third markets. In this context, particular reference was made to agriculture, construction industry, energy, electro-economy, water-economy, and shipbuilding. It was also stressed that scientific-technical cooperation can make significant progress.

The meetings of ministerial groups, it has been learnt, began already during the evening and will continue until the completion of Yugoslav-Nigerian talks at the end of President Shagari's visit.

Although a number of important meetings and talks on these topics are still to come, already now, according to the assessment of observers, fruitful results can be expected, both with regard to the further promotion of overall bilateral cooperation between Yugoslavia and Nigeria, and also on the broader, international plane, in the implementation of the policy of nonalignment on which the two countries work with great commitment, inspired as they are by the original principles of this policy, which, quite naturally, prompt increasingly close cooperation between them.

Kraigher Dinner Speech

LD091258 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2103 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)--Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, gave a formal dinner this evening at the Palace of the Federation in Novi Beograd in honor of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The formal dinner, which took place in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by I.S. Audu, minister of external affairs; Mrs A.O. Oyagbola, minister of national planning; A.I. Gusau, minister of agriculture; S. Ugoh, minister of science and technology; V. Masi, minister of finance; Senator Chia Bachaka, member of the lower house; Sada, chief of state protocol; Okadigbo, special adviser on political affairs; and other Nigerian personalities.

The following attended the dinner on the Yugoslav side: Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the SFRY Presidency; Dragoslav Markovic, president of the Yugoslav Assembly; Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Dusan Dragosavac, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary of foreign affairs; Army General Nikola Luubicic, federal secretary for national defense; Kolu Siroka, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference; Rade Galeb, president of the Central Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia; Nikola Kmezic, president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina; Jon Srbovan, president of the Federal Economic Chamber; Dusan Ilijevic, Milovan Zidar, Stojan Matkaliev, Metod Rotar, members of the Federal Executive Council; Ismailu Bajra, federal secretary for information; Petar Kostic, federal secretary of finance; Nijaz Dizdarevic, president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the SFRY Federal Assembly; Miodrag Vukovic, president of the Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia; Zivorad Kovacevic, president of Belgrade City Assembly; Zoran Tomic, member of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference; Ivan Dolnicar, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency; and other personalities.

During the dinner, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Shehu Shagari, the president of the Republic of Nigeria, exchanged toasts.

Welcoming the distinguished guest from Nigeria, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency said."This, the first visit by a Nigerian head of state of our country, does not mark the beginning of our friendship and cooperation. These we established and have been developing since our country's independence. Since then, we have established firm ties of cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere, with notable results.

"The Yugoslav-Nigerian friendship has received powerful stimuli in the loyalty of our countries to the policy of nonalignment, for whose consistent implementation our two countries, together with others, persistently work. Your visit represents in this respect a fresh confirmation of the closeness of our countries and their resolve to promote their cooperation within the framework of the broader efforts by nonaligned countries to build better political and economic relations in the world.

"This prompts me, on my part, to repeat also this evening the conviction of the SFRY Presidency that the worrisome political and economic situation in the world, which affects the vital interests of a large number of countries--beginning with the nonaligned and developing countries--places before all of us exceptional responsibilities. It goes without saying that the responsibility for the application of force, for interferences and onslaughts on other people's independence and freedom, for conflicts, for the arms race or for the increasingly wider gap between the industrially developed and developing countries lies with those who are, in this way, questioning the peace security and progress of all mankind.

"But it is the nonaligned countries' historical duty to prevent the worst by overcoming all bloc and other divisions and barriers and their exclusiveness and, through our directed and consistent action, pave the way for the resolution of crises wherever they exist, for the consolidation and spreading of detente, security and cooperation, for the strengthening of the feeling of security of all nations and of all peoples, for the creation of real possibilities for general economic progress and for progressive development in the world.

"In following the principles and goals of nonalignment as an independent and nonbloc element which we established 20 years ago precisely in this place and which has received fresh confirmation of its vitality at the recent meetings in New Delhi and Algiers, we are aiming our action at resolving acute international crises to make the world more peaceful and the political and economic relations in it more just.

"In this respect, by working together, among other ways, also in the Coordination Bureau of the Nonaligned Countires, Yugoslavia and Nigeria provide, on every new occasion, proof of the great similarity of their views and aspirations. This was also demonstrated by the talks which we started today.

"We are certain that stopping foreign interference and rivalry as well as respecting the rights of every people to decide alone and for themselves, under conditions of security, represents a reliable path for the peaceful resolution of numerous crises wherever they might occur regardless of who has caused them... This conviction, which stems from the fundamental principles of nonalignment and which we share with other nonaligned countries and with many other countries, leads us toward closer cooperation in seeking solutions to present conflicts and crises. "We are both convinced that it is high time for the people of Namibia to achieve their freedom and independence and for the aggressive actions of South Africa against neighboring people to stop. It is not only the inalienable right of Namibian and other peoples which is at stake--equal right for all to be free and secure--but also the broader interest of the international community to prevent the danger of fresh conflicts and rivalry by non-African elements on African soil.

"It gives me pleasure to stress also on this occasion that we in Yugoslavia highly appreciate the efforts which your country is making within the framework of the OAU and elsewhere for the peaceful solution of the conflicts on African soil, for the liquidation of the remnants of colonial rule and racial discrimination in southern Africa as well as for the economic cooperation by nonaligned countries. We would like to stress this in particular and we would like to address words of support to you for such a significant activity in the spirit of nonaligned principles. Your contribution to such a policy by Nigeria, Mr President, has rightly given you the prestige of a widely respected statesman.

"As you know, Europe too is encumbered by serious problems, it being the continent on which there is the largest concentration of arms and where bloc divisions are most severely manifested. Nonaligned and neutral countries, by cooperating closely with others, are making efforts to reach agreement at the Madrid meeting which would result in the consolidation of detente, development of prospects for disarmament, greater security and closer cooperation permeated by trust and mutual respect.

In today's interlocking world, peace and the policy of relaxation and cooperation are indivisible, and this also requires that detente be a universal process. This also means that working for better relations on the European Continent represents the integral part of broader efforts and aspirations by nonaligned and other countries for greater stability and justice in international relations, in the interest of all.

"I would like to pay particular attention to the extremely worrisome problems of economic relations in the world. We share the same conviction, together with an immense majority in the world community, about it being high time for opening up--by starting global negotiations--a real process of the broadest constructive agreement--reaching, based on the acknowledgment of interdependence, so that the goal which we have designated at the United Nations, the new international economic order might begin to be implemented. We are conscious of the exceptionally difficult and maybe also long path leading to this goal, but it is inevitable. The well-known problems of international economic relations are becoming increasingly serious with the real dangers of inherent broader conflicts. Already today these problems are difficult to resolve, and procrastination can only make them even more complex, with increasingly broader and more dangerous consequences.

"All the more, therefore, why we believe that nonaligned and developing countries, as they have always been stressing at their meetings, are dutybound to make maximum efforts to develop their own mutual cooperation and to make use of their own resources and rely on joint involvement. The least developed countries, which are still severely affected by energy problems, deserve our special concern. Many nonaligned countries have today at their disposal financial resources, industrial and scientific potential. All this makes it possible--by our involvement and by our own example--for us to more speedily implement those forms of cooperation which we advocate in the world in general.

"And this also leads our two nonaligned countries--as we have already jointly established--to considerably closer and more comprehensive bilateral cooperation. I am sure that the results of our talks, agreements at ministerial level and the contacts which you will have with the representatives of our economy, will offer fresh, specific and useful possibilities and mark a new stage in the development of our entire cooperation, particularly economic, scientific and other kinds of cooperation.

"I believe that we both also need more frequent political contacts and dialogue at various levels. Our talks today convincingly proved this. Complex and often also very dangerous circumstances in which we live demand that, together with other nonaligned countries, we be in constant contact so that we might examine the events as realistically as possible and engage in the most appropriate activity.

"Mr President, "During your stay here you will undoubtedly encounter great interest and sympathy for the efforts which the people of your country, led by you, are making in their country's development, in the strengthening of its independence, in the further affirmation of the role and prestige which nonaligned Nigeria rightly enjoys on the international scene. We wish you new success in these efforts and aspirations.

"With these thoughts and sentiments, I express once again, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, a most cordial welcome.

"I raise this glass to the health of our esteemed guest, President Alhaji Shehu Shagari and his associates, to the progress of the friendly people of Nigeria, to the further strengthening of the fruitful cooperation and friendship between our two countries and to the successful implementation of the goals of nonalignment to which our two countries are loyal in the interest of a better tomorrow for all peoples of the world."